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INTRODUCTION.

IN the preceding volume (p. 245) a brief note from William Edwards announced his arrival at Ajmere, and his 'very honourable entertainment' by the Great Mogul. We have now a full account of his reception in letters from Edwards himself (p. 14), from Thomas Mitford, one of his companions (p. 84), and from Thomas Kerridge, who had up to that time represented the Company at court (pp. 63, 89). When on February 2, 1615, the little party of Englishmen reached Ajmere, Jahángír was absent on one of his frequent hunting excursions; but in his impatience to see the presents they had brought, he would not wait until his return to the city, and Edwards and his companions were directed to proceed to his temporary headquarters. There, on the evening of February 7, they were brought into his presence, and delivered the royal missive which was ostensibly the chief motive of their journey, together with portraits of King James, Queen Anne and the Princess Elizabeth,[1] a rich cloak, some strong waters, a mirror, a case of knives, and a young mastiff—sole survivor of several shipped from England for this purpose. The pictures were much admired, and 'the King's liking was such unto the

[1] The Company had also sent out a fancy portrait of the Mogul himself; but, being (naturally enough) 'nothing like him,' it was not presented (p. 67).

cloak that presently he gathered the same in his arms and carried it in to his Queen to show her;' while the dog, which at once sustained the national reputation for courage by 'pinching' to death a young leopard, was esteemed a veritable treasure. 'The King,' wrote Edwards, 'hath given him into the charge of a gentleman of great worth to keep, and often sendeth for him to look upon' (p. 17). Jahángír's evident delight 'was much admired of the gentlemen about him, and given for an extraordinary favour and liking;' and his behaviour to the bearers of the presents was all that could be desired. 'Showing a very loving countenance unto us, [he] said that he was very much beholden unto our King for his kind remembrance, calling him oftentimes his brother; and, having the day before understood by the Governor of Surrat of our late fight with the Portingalls . . . did much commend the valours of the English, saying that he was endeared unto us for defending his port of Surrat. . . . Also [he] told us that he would answer our King's letters and send him what we should think fit for a present . . . ; and likewise willed us to set down in writing whatsoever else we should require for the furthering of our businesses in his countries and he would grant it' (p. 85). As a mark of satisfaction a sum of three thousand rupees was given to Edwards towards his expenses; and the royal graciousness was reflected in the behaviour of the courtiers around him, who vied with one another in favouring the English cause.[1]

[1] Two prominent members of Jahángír's retinue are mentioned by name, Mahábat Khán, 'the King's greatest minion' (afterwards to be his jailor), and Ásaf Khán, who had lately risen into notice, partly by his own astuteness and partly by the help of his sister, Nur Jahan, 'the beloved Queen.' Ásaf Khán's well-known avarice is amusingly brought out. Edwards made presents to both; and Mahábat Khán, 'being honourable,' sent him a thousand rupees 'for a banquet, specifying in writing the particulars, as flesh, rice, butter, etc., which is a direct custom;' but Ásaf Khán only 'proferred requital' in such a manner that Kerridge felt obliged to tell him that it was quite unnecessary (p. 90). Later, Edwards, intending to give the King two pictures at the Nau-róz festival, sent them to Ásaf Khán for his 'opinion of their fitness for that purpose.' He, casting about for a present to make to his sovereign on his own account, appropriated one of the pair, returning in its place a portrait of Sir Thomas Smythe previously given to him by Edwards; and consequently the English envoy had to offer for the Emperor's acceptance a painting which had been rejected by his minister (p. 92).

Edwards' first care was to obtain the promised answer to King James's letter, and a *farmán* authorising the English trade. These were procured without difficulty, though after some delay. The letter (which has been included in the Appendix to the present volume) was 'written in such form as the King useth to write unto the King of Persia (his equal), the seal put loose therein; which is the custom, for if it were on the top it showeth superiority, if underneath, inferiority, but being loose, equality' (p. 65); it was 'full of princely compliments unto the full satisfaction of our King's Majesty in the points of our desired commerce' (p. 20), and Jahángír had himself corrected the first draft, commanding 'that they should in more ample manner express our King's greatness' (pp. 20, 90). The *farmán* was addressed to 'the Governors of Suratt and Cambaya,' according to Kerridge (who is probably right), to 'all his governors both of his seaports and chief cities and towns,' according to Edwards; and we are told that its terms were 'very effectual to the purpose of our trade and fair entertainment.' Thus everything seemed to point to success, and the English representative reported to the Company that he doubted not 'to prevail in all our reasonable demands' (p. 20) provided they were sufficiently liberal in gifts, as 'a profitable trade in these parts . . . calls upon a continual open hand with these people, for as well the King as gentlemen are upon all occasions to be put in mind to be mindful of us, and so we are to buy their loves with our moneys' (p. 17).

Commercially, too, the English had no reason to complain. It was true that the people of Surat did not take much to broadcloth, it 'being so dear that for the price of a covett of our cloth a man will there, according to their wearing, make himself two or three suits;' but the ivory, lead, tin, quicksilver and sword-blades brought by the ships were in fair demand. As for indigo, cotton goods, and other native products, prices were unusually low. Ordinarily a large fleet of Portuguese frigates came every year to the ports of Gujárát to purchase lading for their carracks; but the war had of course put an end to this commerce. For the same

reason, the native skippers were timid of venturing to sea, and the calicoes prepared for sale in the Red Sea, Sumatra, and other places, had therefore been left upon the merchants' hands. Consequently the English factors were able to purchase upon their own terms, obtaining indigo, for instance, at from eleven to fourteen rupees the maund, whereas the Portuguese usually paid eighteen or nineteen (p. 50); and so without much trouble they laded the *Hope* fully, and the *Hector* partially, with goods at most remunerative prices. It was no wonder, then, that they wrote home that it was 'a goodly land,' and looked forward with confidence to the establishment of a permanent and profitable commerce.

Of the fight at Swally with the Portuguese armada we have further accounts in the letters from Thomas Elkington (p. 7), Timothy Mallory (p. 44), Samuel Squire (p. 48), and a few others; and with the publication of these we have in print all the documents of importance relating to that event. In the light of the letters included in this and the preceding volume, it becomes evident that some points in the generally accepted story require correction. For instance, it now seems that the Portuguese did not set fire to their ships before leaving them in the hands of the English, but that it was the latter who actually set them ablaze; also that the damage to the mainmast of the *Hope* was due to an accident on board, not to the flames from the Portuguese vessels. Further, we may in passing demur a little to the praise which has been given to the strategy displayed by Downton and his associates on this occasion. In point of fact, most, if not all the honours in this respect appear to belong of right to the Portuguese. In the first place, it may reasonably be doubted whether the English commander did not make a mistake in awaiting an attack in Swally Road, with its treacherous shallows and confined space for manœuvring, instead of going boldly forth in the first instance, as Best had done, to try his fortune in the main. Though the Portuguese forces may seem to have been overwhelmingly superior, we must remember that figures alone

give no true idea of the relative strength of the two fleets. The Viceroy's ships were cumbrous and slow of sail; their guns, if more numerous, were worse served than those of the English; while the soldiers, who formed the bulk of the Europeans in the fleet, were of little or no use in a long distance fight.[1] Moreover, if on no other grounds than the impression likely to be made on the minds of the natives, the adoption of a bold policy would have been the wiser course, even if it entailed some risk. As it was, Mukarrab Khân, convinced by Downton's inaction that resistance was almost hopeless, actually offered to conclude a peace (which would certainly have involved the expulsion of the English); and it was only the Viceroy's rejection of the terms proposed, in hopes of better, that prevented this catastrophe.

In the second place, when at length Downton made a move, a serious blunder was committed in detaching the *Hope* from the rest of the squadron and leaving her unsupported. This was done, it is said, to lure the Portuguese galleons on to the sands; but if so, the manœuvre was unsuccessful, while it exposed the English vessel to a very grave risk. The main strength of the Viceroy consisted in his multitude of soldiers, and his best chance, therefore, lay in boarding his opponent's vessels by means of his numerous 'frigates' (rowed barges). So long as the English ships kept together, their artillery fire would frustrate any attempt of this character. Now, however, one of the four—and that by no means the strongest—was isolated from the rest, and seemed to offer herself an easy prey. The Viceroy at once took advan-

[1] Sir Thomas Roe strongly advised the commander of the 1617 fleet, if attacked by the Portuguese, not to allow himself to be 'besieged in a fish pond,' but to 'put out . . . and attend them in sea room.' 'Captain Best,' he added, 'with less force met them and beat them like a man, not by hazard; and if he had had that force which Downton had, I believe had brought away a better trophy' (*Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 258). Best, it will be remembered, engaged four Portuguese galleons with only the seventeen-years-old *Dragon* (600 tons) and the little *Osiander* (150 tons), with 200 men all told. Downton's four ships (two of which were new) carried 400 men, and they were respectively of 650, 500, 300, and 200 tons. The opposing force numbered six galleons and three smaller vessels. In both cases the Portuguese had in addition a large number of 'frigates,' but these may be neglected in calculating the chances of a fight in the open sea.

tage of the opportunity. A number of frigates and three of the lighter vessels of his fleet pushed swiftly across the sands and, fastening on the *Hope*, poured into her swarms of soldiers from every side. So little was an attack expected, that the other three English ships were riding at anchor some distance off, while Downton—characteristically enough—was writing busily in his cabin. The *Gift's* cable was promptly cut, and she and the other ships bore down to their comrade's assistance; but the latter had meanwhile to bear the brunt of an attack from an overwhelming force of the 'gallants of the Portugals' army,' and only the desperate bravery of her crew saved her from capture. Thrice the Portuguese gained a footing on the deck, and thrice by heroic efforts they were driven back, before the arrival of the other English ships on the scene caused the assailants to take to flight. In his report to the Company (see vol. ii., p. 186) Downton did not mince matters: 'if the Portugals had not fallen into an error at the first,' he said, 'they might have destroyed the *Hope*, and by likelihood the rest hastening so to her aid;' while his solemn *Non nobis, Domine*, in the present volume (p. 26) is a similar recognition of the narrow escape they had had. That Downton was a skilful seaman and a painstaking and prudent commander no one will dispute; but the impression left upon the mind of a careful reader of his journal and letters is that his excessive caution—accentuated probably at this time by age and bodily weakness—prevented him from being entirely equal to the difficult position in which he found himself at this juncture.

To turn to less weighty matters, we hear, as usual, a great deal concerning the dissensions and jealousies that raged among the factors and seamen. Thomas Kerridge writes home complaining that Edwards has done him 'a public disgrace,' and further accuses the new-comer of slighting and ignoring the other factors, and of appropriating to his own use money given in requital of the Company's presents. A more serious matter was the ill-feeling between Downton and Edwards. The former, who

had accepted the command of the fleet at the earnest wish of the Company, though still in a weak condition from his terrible homeward voyage in the *Peppercorn*, had been much aggrieved to find that, by both the King's and the Company's commissions, his authority was subject to limitations which had not been imposed upon his predecessors (vol. ii., p. 175); and this, combined with his bad health, had made him somewhat choleric and testy during the voyage out. His prolonged stay at the Bay of St. Augustine, in Madagascar, had led first to remonstrances, and then to a threat of a formal protest from Edwards; at Surat, it would seem, there were further bickerings between them; and one of Downton's last acts before his departure from Swally was to write a sharp letter to Edwards at Ajmere, taxing him with various misdemeanours, and 'wishing him to take measure of himself with reformation' (vol. ii., p. 185). This letter is not extant; but at p. 79 of the present volume we have Edwards' defence, written on the whole in a manly and temperate fashion, half-humorously ascribing Downton's 'plenteous formality of words' to his study of a copy of Withers' *Abuses Stript and Whipt* (then lately published) which had been lent to him by Edwards during the voyage. The quarrel did not want partakers on both sides. Edward Dodsworth, who, as a principal factor and a kinsman of Sir Thomas Smythe, was a man of weight, engaged himself heartily in Downton's cause; and perhaps this fact was not altogether unconnected with the latter's choice of him to go home as captain of the *Hope*. On the other hand the minister, the Reverend Peter Rogers, stood forth as Edwards' champion ('it fitteth better his calling to persuade to peace, than aggravate wrath, but he runs with the times,' was Kerridge's comment); and his letter to the Company on p. 72 is one of the most characteristic documents in the present collection. It contains a long defence of his own and Edwards' conduct, especially as regards the governor's young relative, Henry Smythe, who had died at Ahmadábád on his way to Ajmere, and whose brief life, it is hinted, had

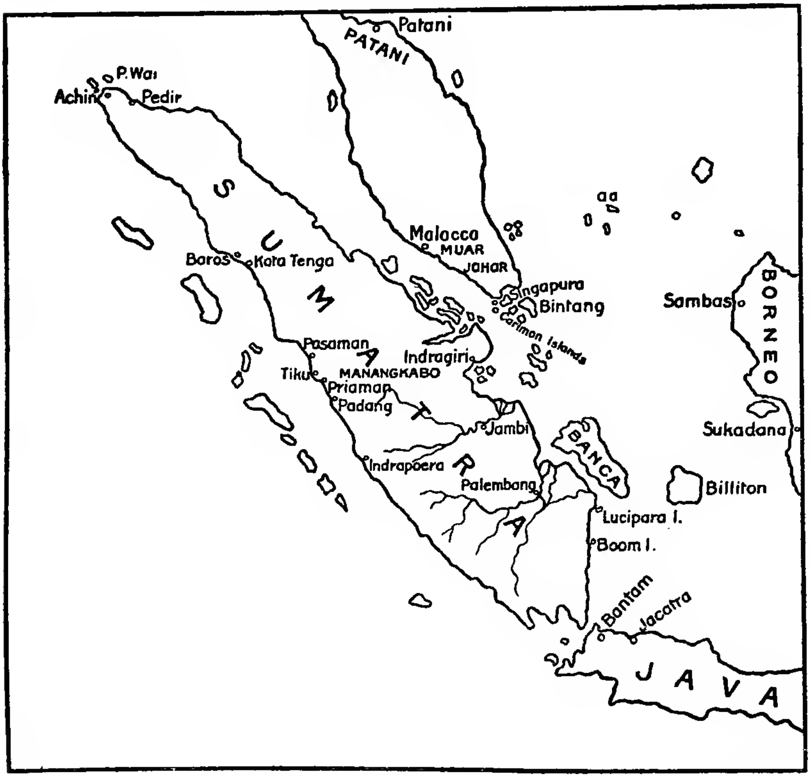
been troubled by fear of Dodsworth and Downton. As for the latter, though the reverend gentleman 'delights not to stir much in the mud of his miry hypocritical courses,' and had intended in charity to 'pass by many gross abuses he hath offered me,' yet since this 'by God's providence is timely come to light of the continuance of that old soaked humour of his, of inveterate hatred and continuance where he once takes dislike,' he feels bound to inform the Company that their general 'is not the man you take him to be touching religion;' he always illtreats his ministers; he 'neglects prayer on the week days, and very often on the Sabbath the exercises of religion, to the great offence and discouragement of many;' he is much given to backbiting; he has answered Rogers' fatherly remonstrances by saying scornfully, 'he could tell his duty better than I could advise him, and such like demonstrances of pride and hypocrisy;' and, worse than all, he has not scrupled to rail at the Governor and Committees, 'accusing you that though you professed religion many of you, he always found those that made not so great a show to be more generous, more bountiful, and the like!' What impression this tremendous indictment made upon the Court we have no means of knowing; but long before it reached their hands the accused had passed beyond their jurisdiction. Rogers himself lived to return home in the following year, with letters from Tom Coryat commending him to the hospitality of the Mermaid Club; and then he drops back into the obscurity from which he had been temporarily drawn by the somewhat misplaced patronage of Sir Thomas Smythe.

It was the 2nd of March, 1615, when Downton's four ships lifted their anchors and sailed out of Swally Road on their way southwards. On the 4th, when they were off Damán, the Portuguese fleet, which was lying there, weighed and followed. The English held their course till the 6th, and then, judging that they had drawn their adversaries far enough, struck their topsails and offered battle. But this was by no means what the Portuguese wanted, 'and they clapt close by a wind and stood

into the shore from us, whom we never saw [again] (p. 49).' On the 10th, all danger from this source being removed, the *Hope*, homeward bound, quitted her consorts and directed her course for the Cape of Good Hope. Sixteen days later, as Ceylon faded out of sight, the *Hector* saluted and departed for Achin. Downton could not hope to find lading at Bantam for more than two of his ships, and it had been arranged, therefore, that the third should dispose of her surplus calicoes, together with some English goods, at the pepper ports of Sumatra and, if sufficient lading could be obtained, should then proceed homewards from Priaman. To Achin it was necessary that she should go in the first instance, for the King, desirous to draw all traffic to that port, or at all events to levy a tax upon all merchant strangers who wished to trade elsewhere in his dominions, had strictly prohibited commerce to any vessels not provided with his special licence (cp. vol. ii., p. 165).

Accordingly, on the 15th April, the *Hector* made her appearance in the roads of Achin. The King was on a visit to Pedir, and Oxwick, the chief factor, and an assistant named Juxon were deputed to wait upon him there with a letter from King James and a propitiatory present. They were favourably received, and when, a fortnight later, they returned with the King to Achin, there seemed to be every hope of the speedy success of their mission. But here a difficulty arose; Oxwick's arrogance displeased the monarch and his chief officers, and the difficulties thus created delayed the grant of the necessary permit to such an extent that the three under merchants formally requested the intervention of Spaight, the master of the ship. The appeal to the naval arm was successful; a council was held, and Oxwick was ordered to give up his post and go on board (where he died a week later), while Spaight took over the business of procuring the royal licence for trade at Tiku and Priaman. This was obtained on the 27th June; but 'it cost dear,' wrote Spaight to Downton. As Millward noted later, not only did the King expect a handsome

present[1] in return for any grant he might make, but his officers, 'receiving no means from him,' depended largely for a livelihood upon bribes administered by those seeking their intercession with the King. Even 'the gilder which did gild the King's letter,' had to be induced 'to make haste in the gild-



ing thereof' by a present of half-a-crown's worth of blue calico; and the 'weigher of Achin' would not 'do right in the weight of iron' until he had received 'one bafta white.' In all a sum of about 150*l.* was expended in presents, besides an anchor,

[1] 'The Sabander by a parable taught us to know him, telling us that if a man will sew a piece of cloth, let the needle go through and the thread will follow of itself, insinuating that a bribe must usher our designs' (*Purchas*, vol. i., p. 526).

a piece of ordnance, and some powder (pp. 95—101). Even then their troubles were by no means at an end. On the 21st of June, the *Thomas*, of David Middleton's fleet, sailed into the road, quite unaware of the *Hector's* presence there. She had left Bantam in March, under the charge of John Millward, intending to dispose of some calicoes at Tiku in exchange for pepper; on arriving at that port, however, she had found that the merchants dare not trade without permission from Achin, and she had therefore come on to seek this. The merchants of the *Hector* endeavoured to persuade the newcomers to abandon their purpose and return to Bantam, alleging that there was no chance of both ships obtaining cargoes, and that the procurement of a second licence would be an unnecessary expense. Millward and his colleagues, however, were determined not to return empty-handed. After considerable debate, it was agreed that the *Hector*, having already obtained her licence, should go on at once to Priaman and Tiku, while the merchants of the *Thomas* should endeavour by means of another royal letter and present to procure permission not only for immediate trade at those two places, but also for the establishment of a permanent factory at one or other of them. If they succeeded, the *Hector* would, upon the appearance of the *Thomas*, relinquish her trade and proceed to Bantam (p. 189). The King had insisted that the *Hector* should leave one of her merchants at Achin, and Samuel Juxon was detailed for this duty; with him were associated William Nicholls and another factor on behalf of the *Thomas*, an d a joint stock was left at their disposal (p. 125).

The differences having thus been amicably arranged, on the 6th July the *Hector* stood off to sea, but she met with baffling winds and it was not until three months later that she reached the roadstead of Tiku. No difficulty was made as to their right to trade; but the native merchants, being probably aware that the *Thomas* was likely to follow her consort ere long, were in no hurry either to buy or sell. At last, however, they were induced to lower their price for pepper from 50 to 15 rials the

bahar, and to take calicoes at a reasonable rate; but just as this agreement had been concluded (October 27) the *Thomas* appeared in sight. The price of pepper rose rapidly to 30 rials, in the expectation of competition between the two ships. The only remedy seemed to be to send away one or other of them, and as Millward declared that the *Thomas* should not give way, alleging moreover that he held the King's grant of permission to establish a factory for a period of two years, the merchants of the *Hector* reluctantly agreed to put such of their goods as were suitable on board the smaller vessel and depart for Bantam. This, however, did not suit the views of the native authorities, who at once declared that if the *Hector* departed they would have nothing to do with any of her goods. Moreover, a copy of Mr. Millward's licence (which he had always refused to show) was obtained from a native official, and this proved that the much-vaunted grant was really less effectual than that made to the *Hector*. It was thereupon decided that the latter should remain, and that the *Thomas*, leaving part of her cargo under the charge of Mr. Millward, and taking in its place some of the goods of the *Hector* intended for England, should depart for Bantam; and this she accordingly did. The whole business was very petty, though as an instance of the harm done to the Company by the rivalry of its factors it is instructive enough. It was strongly condemned by the agent at Bantam in one of his letters to the Company: 'there is such suing for superiority,' he said, 'for the advancement of each his particular voyage, as though the uniting of the Honourable Company were forgotten amongst them, each seeking to sell first, although it be to the great hindrance of the general stock' (p. 274).

Much more interesting are the glimpses we obtain of the domestic and foreign politics of Achin. The King, Iskandar Muda, who had raised himself to the throne in 1606, is described as 'very cruel, keeping his people in great slavedom' (p. 190), and even foreigners, such as the Gujárâti merchants

and the unhappy Dutch representative, fared little better at his hands. The Dutchman was held 'as his slave,' and even his fellow-countrymen dare not shelter him, in spite of his entreaties (p. 212). A Portuguese who had built for the King twelve fine galleys 'he cast before an elephant and brake his bones' (p. 228); and the Company's first representative, Oxwick, was very nearly slain on the spot for an act of presumption. At the time of the visit of the English ships great preparations were being made for a renewed attack upon Malacca and the native allies of the Portuguese. In 1613 Best and his companions had witnessed the triumphant return of the Achinese fleet from Johore, where they had totally defeated the King of that state, and had brought away as prisoners two of his brothers and a large number of his people. One of the brothers the King of Achin married to his sister, declared him King of Johore, and often condescended to 'drink drunk' with him (p. 190). A fleet of 300 vessels was now being made ready to carry over to the Peninsula an army of 40,000 (some said 100,000) men. Twelve of these vessels are described as 'very great, having 28 and 30 oars of a side,' and the 'Admiral galley had a turret built in the stern covered with plates of massive gold' (p. 228). In November the *Solomon*, passing through the Straits of Singapore on her way from Patani to Masulipatam, heard that the Achinese flotilla was near, and took special pains to avoid meeting either it or its Portuguese opponents.[1] The latter proved to be too strong for their assailants and the expedition ended in failure; but of this we hear no details, for our latest letter from Achin (p. 236) was written while the King was still 'at Malacca walls.'

Downton, with his remaining two vessels, had reached Bantam in June. It had been intended that the *Gift* should proceed either to Japan or the Moluccas; but ships had recently been sent in both these directions, and so the proposal was abandoned.

[1] Her merchants also had a visit from the other side, in the person of the ex-King of Johore, 'who flying from the King of Achin, durst not remain in his own country, but lived on the water like a fugitive' (p. 213).

The *Solomon*, however, was despatched on the 20th July for Patani and Masulipatam, with instructions to establish, if possible, a permanent factory at the latter place; and Downton himself, 'unwilling to lie still,' determined 'to discover the east side of Sumatra, to spend time till new pepper' should be ready for shipment to England (p. 173). As Jambi, the principal mart in that region, was a long way inland, a pinnace for river work, and a ship of light draught to store and defend the cargo, were both necessary. The former there was no difficulty in providing, for the *Gift* had brought out with her a pinnace in sections, and this was fitted up and named the *Assistant*; but no suitable ship was available, and men were therefore set to work to strengthen and enlarge a native junk. At this moment, however, two small vessels arrived (July 24 or 25) from England. One of these (the *Advice*) was specially designated by the Company for Japan, and thither she was accordingly despatched; the other (the *Attendant*) was told off to grope her way, accompanied by the pinnace, among the unknown rocks and shallows that lay between Bantam and Jambi.

Seven weeks passed before these two vessels were ready to depart, and in the interval Downton had breathed his last—'Death lying in ambush to entrap,' says Purchas, 'whom by open force he could not devour.' As already mentioned, he had come out 'with body unrecovered,' moved solely by zeal for the Company's service, to take part in this 'troublesome, pining and weary business,' and from Surat he had written to Sir Thomas Smythe his sad foreboding that 'this voyage will fully wear me out' (vol. ii., p. 176). The responsibilities of command lay heavy upon him; the long wrangle with the native authorities, and the harassing weeks of warfare with the Portuguese Viceroy, must have told severely upon his enfeebled frame; and even his final triumph brought him no pleasure, for in the interim he had buried his only son. Of the last days of the old admiral we have but a few notices, and these seem almost brutal in their brevity. 'The fifth of August I was aboard with

the General, then very ill,' writes Elkington (*Purchas*, vol. i., p. 515), 'and the next day had word of his departure'; 'Sunday the sixth of August our General departed this life,' is Pring's report (*ibid.*, p. 631); while the letters in the present volume (pp. 170, 174) mention the fact without the least comment. Death was too common, the ordinary business of life too pressing, for Jourdain and his companions to spend time in lamentation. They do not even mention his place of burial; but as he died on board his ship we may infer that they laid him, not in the swamps of the mainland, but in the green island of Pulo Padjang, near which the English vessels usually anchored. There, by the side of his old commander and friend, Sir Henry Middleton, he would at last find rest, within sound of the guns that welcomed the vessels fresh from England, and of the cries of the mariners as they careened and scrubbed their ships in preparation for the homeward voyage. Of one thing we may be sure: the loyal affection of his sailors, over whose health and comfort he had watched so carefully, followed him to the end; and as long as English ships frequented Bantam harbour the memory of Nicholas Downton and of the fight at Swally was never allowed to be forgotten.[1]

After Downton's interment the merchants assembled in council and opened the sealed packets in which the Company had nominated his successor. They were found to contain in turn the names of William Edwards, Nicholas Ensworth, and Thomas Elkington. The first was in India; the second had died at Surat; and so it fell upon Elkington to take up the office. It had

[1] The notice of Downton in the 'Dictionary of National Biography' gives no particulars of his career before 1610, the date when first he sailed in the service of the East India Company; but at least two additions may be made to this record. We may fairly assume that he was the Nicholas Downton, 'a valiant man,' who commanded the *Sampson* in the fleet which (June, 1594) engaged and burnt the Portuguese carrack *Cinque Llagas*, and who was himself wounded in the fight (*Purchas*, vol. iv., p. 1147). And, further, two papers in Downton's handwriting found a few years ago among the India Office records show that in 1605 he made a trading voyage to Cumana (in Venezuela) in a ship called the *Pilgrim*, the Earl of Cumberland and himself being the two principal adventurers in the speculation.

previously been arranged that he should remain as agent at Bantam in the place of Jourdain, who, having been seven years in the East, was anxious to go home. Elkington, however, now decided to return in charge of the *Gift*, and Jourdain reluctantly resumed his post as head of the English factory. His report on the events of the year at Bantam is contained in two letters, which will be found at pp. 169 and 272. The picture he draws is a gloomy one. 'The state of Bantam is in ill case, for all the chief merchants are grown to decay.' The Chinese are remitting their fortunes to China, 'thinking to run away themselves after.' Both the English and Dutch have large sums owing to them which they cannot recover. The native government is corrupt and inefficient, and Jourdain can get no redress. The Pengran (the uncle of the nominal King, and the real ruler of the country) has granted permission for the erection of a new English factory, but 'when I goeth about it, he either causeth his workmen to leave work, finding fault it is either sometimes too broad and sometimes too near, other times too high, and that we go about to build a castle' (p. 276); his chief objection being, however, that the English, following the Dutch practice of playing off Jacatra against Bantam, have been in negotiation with the King of the former state, who has offered a site for a residence in his chief town, and total freedom from customs duties. The Bantam chief, fearful of loss to his revenues, 'will not have us that we build anywhere upon Java but at Bantam;' but on this point Jourdain is determined to stand firm. As for English trade at Bantam, 'there is no commodity that will sell for money at any profit, and to trust we shall be in danger to lose all.' The Dutch are unscrupulous in their competition, and ready to go to any length in their endeavours to injure English trade; 'for their envy is so great towards us that to take out one of our eyes they will lose both their own.' His own countrymen give almost as much trouble. Scarcely anyone can be induced to stay in the country. To man the ships left at his disposal there are but fifty-five Englishmen, so that natives must be hired to make up their complements; and factors who

are 'good writers and skilful in accounts' are so scarce that Jourdain cannot get the journal and ledger properly copied out to send to the Company, and is forced to crave their indulgence until he can either do it himself or find 'some other which doth understand accounts.'

Of the minor factories dependent on Bantam, Macassar was pusillanimously abandoned by George Chauncey on rumours of an impending Spanish attack, but re-established within a short time by Ball and Cokayne. Of Sukadana we hear little or nothing; but Cassarian David had to fly for his life from Sambas, the other factory on the western side of Borneo, the natives having made three attempts to murder him. In compensation he established a fresh station on the south coast at Banjarmassin, where, he writes, is the veritable Canaan, a land flowing with milk and honey—not to speak of sand-gold and diamonds—and where the people are 'very sociable and kind' (p. 268). The two vessels sent, as already mentioned, to Jambi, succeeded in reaching that place, and in obtaining permission to trade, in spite of the efforts of their Dutch rivals, who warned the King that the English were 'a rude and ungoverned nation, given to drunkenness and abusing of women, quarrelling, fighting, and such like' (p. 168). At Patani trade was declining, 'by reason that the Hollander layeth wait for all the silk that comes hither, they having, partly by their own means and partly by the ill-usage of the Chineses in Patania, drawn all the junks to Sangora, where they have a factory settled and no man without their licence may buy any there' (p. 179). From Siam (Ayuthia) came news that was scarcely more encouraging, for a venture to Camboja had proved a failure, and the wars between Pegu and Siam had prevented the return of Thomas Samuel, who had been sent up to distant Kiang-mai, in the Shan states; though hopes were entertained that a lucrative commerce would be established with Japan, where the Siamese eagle-wood and deer-skins found a ready market. Further efforts were being made to establish a permanent settlement at Masulipatam, in order to secure a

regular supply of Coromandel piece-goods, which were much in favour in all parts of the Indian Archipelago. From Japan we hear of the Shogun's decisive defeat of his competitor for empire, Hideyori (Fidaia Sama), the son of his predecessor, of his prohibition of further intercourse with the Spaniards or Portuguese, and of his persecution of the Christian missionaries. The English factors were gladdened at the end of August by the arrival of the *Hosiander*, and although sales were unsatisfactory, and the competition of the Dutch was keenly felt, they anticipated greater success in other directions. Cocks hoped that the long-sought permission for trade in China would be granted ere long, and in the meantime he had despatched the *Sea Adventure* to Siam under Captain Adams, and was preparing for a venture to the Liu-Kiu islands. The usual familiar references are not wanting to the domestic life of the factors, especially to their native consorts, one of whom is quaintly described as having 'used mirth with *meretrix*, as the common report is' (p. 279).

Having thus taken a rapid view of the events of the year as regards the various factories, it is time to turn our attention to the most important quarter of all—the Moluccas—where the rivalry of the Dutch and English had entered upon an acute stage. By far the most momentous event of the year was the expedition of Ball and Cokayne to these islands, and we are fortunate in having full accounts of the voyage from its three leaders.

In all other parts of the East the struggle between the English and the Dutch was only a matter of commercial rivalry. A strong native government kept the peace, and, as a rule, was too much alive to the benefits to be derived from the competition of the two nations to permit one to close the market against the other. But in the Moluccas things were different. There the native governments were too weak to stand alone; and at the same time the valuable products of the islands proved an irresistible temptation to a European power. When the Dutch arrived in the East, they found the Moluccas dominated by the Portuguese, though

the King of Ternate, the chief native potentate, had freed his own island from their power. Allying themselves with the natives, the new-comers quickly drove out their European rivals; and though the Spanish Viceroy of the Philippines came to the aid of the Portuguese and carried on the war with no little spirit and a certain amount of success, at the time of which we are writing the Dutch had practically established their supremacy in the islands, with the exception of the tiny group of the Bandas, where, however, they had secured a footing by building a strong fortress. Of these struggles the English were at first mere spectators. Sir Henry Middleton, his brother David, Captains Keeling and Saris, all in turn obtained cargoes of spices, though with ever-increasing difficulty, owing to the obstructions placed in their way by the Dutch. Gradually, however, the real aim of the latter became apparent. The operations against the Portuguese, together with the maintenance of the castles and soldiers required to overawe the natives, entailed a huge expense; and the only way in which the Dutch saw a possibility of recouping themselves was by gaining the monopoly of the spices produced in the islands. Accordingly the treaties concluded from time to time with the native chiefs aimed above all things at securing this monopoly. The Dutch bound themselves to defend the islands against foreign attacks; and in return they stipulated for the privilege of buying at a fixed price the whole produce of the spice plantations. Foreign commerce, even with Macassar and other neighbouring ports, was suppressed as far as possible; and every effort was made to reduce the natives to the position of mere cultivators for the benefit of their European masters.

This policy, admirable from the Dutch point of view, told heavily both on the natives themselves (who depended for food and clothing principally on the cargoes brought to exchange for spices) and on the foreigners—English, Javanese, Chinese and Gujárátis—who had hitherto traded with them. The people of Amboyna and the neighbouring parts of Ceram, who had assisted

to drive out the Portuguese in the full belief that they would thereby regain their independence, found themselves far worse off than before; but the Dutch power was too great, and, though the natives made some show of opposition, they were forced to submit. The Bandanese, however, who had always occupied a more independent position, were in no mood to accept a foreign yoke; they actively resisted the Dutch forces, and the latter were obliged to stand on the defensive behind the walls of their castle on Banda Neira, while the natives made overtures to the English at Macassar to come to their assistance.

Meanwhile the English had been slowly bestirring themselves to assert their right to free commerce. As the Dutch increased their efforts to subdue the natives and enforce the monopoly, the factors at Bantam, fearing that otherwise they would be excluded altogether from the lucrative spice trade,[1] began seriously to consider the advisability of establishing factories at various points in the Moluccas. Accordingly, in the spring of 1613, the *Darling* was sent to Hitoe, on the northern side of Amboyna, and both there and at Loehoe and Kambeloe, on the neighbouring island of Ceram, Jourdain and Cokayne (the two merchants in charge of the ship) applied to the native chiefs for permission to settle a factory. The influence of the Dutch was, however, strong enough to prevent this request from being granted, though the natives appear to have been anxious to comply with it; and the *Darling* had therefore to return with her mission unfulfilled.[2] No further step was taken that year; and although in February, 1614, a junk was despatched from Macassar with instructions to proceed to Pulo Ai, in the Banda group, she was unable to get so far before the change of the monsoon, and was obliged to return. In May, 1614, Richard Welden wrote to

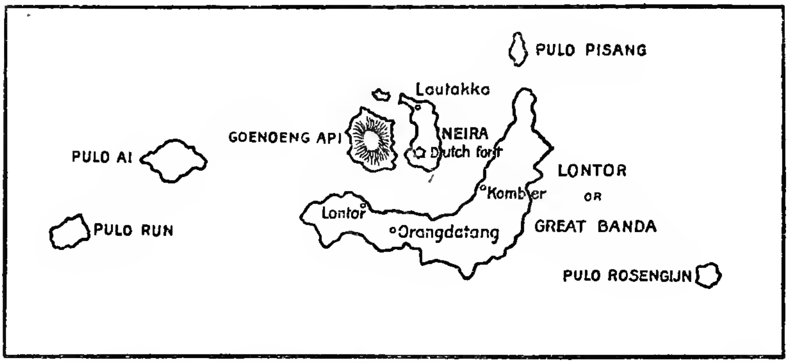
[1] In a letter to Bantam, dated November 3, 1614, the English Company wrote: 'Although pepper hath been and is good ware, yet if we have not good quantity of better commodities than it, we shall come short of gains answerable to our charges and adventures.' Cloves, they said, were fetching 6*s.* 11*d.* per lb. ungarbled, while the best pepper was only worth 1*s.* 11*d.* per lb. (*Factory Records*, *Misc.*, vol. xxv.).

[2] Jourdain's journal in the British Museum (*Sloane MS.* 858).

Bantam from Macassar that he had been at Banda, and that 'the Bandanese do much marvel that in so long a time there have come no English shipping there, protesting if they come they will live and die with the English, for now all the Bandanese hath open wars with the Hollanders and have slain many of them' (vol. ii., p. 36); but nothing could be done until January, 1615, when, as related in the preceding volume, the *Concord* was fitted out at Bantam, and despatched, with a small pinnace, to the Moluccas.

George Ball was in command, but as he had had no previous experience of the islands, he was directed to call at Macassar and take with him Cokayne, and, if possible, Welden also. They were first to proceed to Loehoe to arrange for a supply of cloves; and then to make for Banda to establish a factory (vol. ii., p. 306). Time, however, did not permit them to call at Loehoe or Amboyna, and they accordingly went straight from Macassar to Banda. They anchored before the Dutch castle at Neira, where, as it happened, the Dutch Governor-General Reynst was lying with seven men-of-war. Energetic remonstrances availing nothing, the Dutch dogged and impeded the movements of the English to such an extent that no arrangement could be made with the natives of Lontor (Great Banda), where it was first intended to fix a factory. The chiefs professed entire willingness to grant a settlement, but evidently feared the overwhelming forces of the Dutch; 'pointing to the Fleming castle, saying that it makes old men to weep, and will the child that is unborn, saying as God hath given a country to them and theirs, so He hath sent the Hollanders as a plague unto them, making wars upon them and by unjust proceedings seeking to take their country from them' (p. 140). Returning to Neira, a summons came to Ball to repair to the Dutch castle. He refused to go himself, but sent Cokayne to learn what was wanted. The latter gives a vivid account of his interview with Reynst, who demanded to be shown their commission, and was met with a point-blank refusal. 'He then standing up, fluttering his papers at my face, saying we were rogues and rascals, not having any-

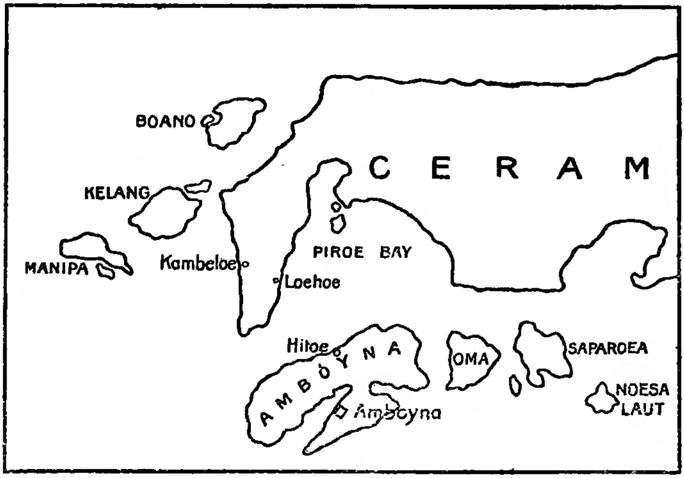
thing but from Thomas Smith of London, most vilely railing of our Honourable Company; saying that our King's Majesty had sufficiently understood by them of these proceedings, his Majesty replied that they had all the right that might be and no others to these places of Banda, Sir Thomas Smith then in presence silenced . . . they saying we came to steal more voyages from them as others had done before . . . which they might have made good prize, if they had been so minded' (p. 141).



As nothing could be done at Neira or Lontor, the English sailed for Pulo Ai, a island a few miles to the west of Neira. Two Dutch vessels at once put to sea to watch their movements, but these were shaken off in a slight gale, and on March 30 Cokayne succeeded in getting on shore and opening up communication with the natives. The latter willingly agreed that the English should establish a factory. Sophony Cozuck was accordingly left there with the pinnace and a few men, while the *Concord*, after spending a few weeks in a neighbouring roadstead, took in a small quantity of mace at Pulo Ai, and sailed for Amboyna.

Hitto, on the northern coast of that island, was reached towards the end of May. Here the native chief informed Cokayne that no cloves were to be had, 'but if there were, not any of the inhabitants durst to sell them unto us . . . . He told us they were not masters of

their own, but yet in time they did hope for a remedy.' Going over to Loehoe, they met the *Thomasine*, one of David Middleton's fleet which had been told off to assist them. She seems, however, to have rendered very little service, and Cokayne complained bitterly of her absence at a critical moment (p. 145). At a secret interview with the chiefs, 'being privately conveyed up into the hills among the bushes,' ground was assigned to the English for a settlement both at Loehoe itself, and at Kambeloe, on the other side of the peninsula. At the latter place, the Dutch were busily bombarding a native fort, appa-



rently on account of the encouragement given to the English; and the garrison, finding it untenable, offered to deliver it to Ball and his companions. The offer was accepted; a few men were sent overland, 'and on the said castle advanced the English colours.' They were met, however, by a storm of shot; and upon the *Concord* going round to Kambeloe to demand the surrender of the ground conceded by the natives, they received only 'cross and shuffling answers.' Cokayne, with a handful of men, endeavoured to keep the castle, 'bestowing on the Flemings a hundred or two of small shot, which was not to their liking, the old

Arankayos with their wives and children standing aloof off, much grieving to see the odds the Flemings had and the weak case which we were in' (p. 145); but in the end he was forced to abandon it, the Dutch threatening to sink the English ship unless she fetched away the garrison. Further resistance was hopeless, for Reynst was near with his squadron from Banda; and so the English reluctantly withdrew and sailed for Macassar.[1]

It was evidently of little use to contend with the Dutch in Amboyna and its neighbourhood, but great hopes were entertained of Pulo Ai. 'Truly I durst lay all that ever I shall be worth whilst I live,' writes Skinner, 'that the Hollanders will never get the islands of Bannda, for all the Bandeneses will lose their lives before they will be under the Hollanders' (p. 135). And this prophecy seemed likely to be borne out by facts. When Reynst heard of the English settlement upon Pulo Ai, he resolved to make himself master of that island without delay. But the attempt (May 1615) ended in failure. The Bandanese, armed, as Reynst declared, with weapons supplied by the English, proved too much for his forces, and he was obliged to withdraw with a loss, it was rumoured, of 300 men. Sophony Cozuck remained at Pulo Ai till the 14th September, when, leaving Richard Hunt in charge of the factory, he sailed in the pinnace for Bantam. With him went one of the chiefs with a written proposal for an alliance with the English, the latter to furnish rice, calicoes, and munitions of war, and to help in the recovery of Neira, in return for which the natives offered a monopoly of their spices. Active hostilities against the Dutch were, however, more than the English felt warranted in undertaking without authority from home; and so they temporised, pro-

[1] An account of this voyage will be found in Dr. Gardiner's 'History of England,' vol. iii., p. 166; but therein no mention is made of Ball or Cokayne (who were really in charge), everything being ascribed to Skinner, who, though an active participator, was only master of the vessel. For the Dutch side *De Opkomst van het Nederlandsch Gezag in Oost-Indie*, 1st series, vol. iv., and 2nd series, pt. 1, and *De Vestiging van het Nederlandsche Gezag over de Banda-Eilanden* (Van Der Chijs), should be consulted.

mising a supply of provisions and putting off other matters until further conference had been held with the chiefs of Banda. To take back the ambassador and to afford an opportunity for these fresh negotiations, it was determined to send the *Thomas* and and the *Concord* with a pinnace to Banda and Amboyna early in the new year (pp. 175, 260, 273, 293).

It must not be supposed that the home authorities, either in England or Holland, had remained blind to the dangers of the situation in the East. The Dutch were particularly anxious to come to an understanding. They knew that already their servants had not only to face the hostility of the Portuguese and Spaniards, but to crush the resistance of the natives; it would be no light thing if the English took an active part in these troubles, especially if they succeeded in establishing a footing in the Spice Islands, and thus prevented the Dutch from acquiring their hoped-for monopoly. The remedy they proposed was a modified form of union between the two companies, each contributing to the expenses of the establishments in the East and each taking a definite share of the trade. In the spring of 1613, special commissioners had been sent to London to treat upon this point; but the proposal was not to the liking of the English merchants, and the negotiations fell through. King James, however, viewed this solution with a favourable eye; and towards the close of 1614, he ordered the Company to send two of their number to the Hague, where, together with Sir Henry Wotton and Clement Edmondes, clerk of the Council, they were to resume the interrupted negotiations. The commissioners left early in the new year, and returned at the beginning of May. As before, all efforts to reach an agreement had proved fruitless. The English contended that trade ought to be free in all parts of the East Indies, 'as a thing due to us by the law of all nations, and by the common equity;' and they denied the necessity of the expensive operations undertaken against the Spaniards and Portuguese. The Dutch deputies answered that the law of nations could not preven

the inhabitants of the Moluccas from entering into exclusive arrangements for the sale of their goods, and 'this being done, if any other would attempt to buy a thing of them so sold or obliged, by good reason this may be denied him;' as to the war, they declared that in the judgment of all understanding people 'and even that of the King of Great Britain, who is the greatest among the wise and wisest among the great,' the defence of those islands 'is a necessary means to retain a trade with them.' It was upon the latter point—'the joining against the Spaniards in a vigorous war'—that the negotiations finally broke down.[1] King James would of course hear of nothing that would jeopardize his cordial relations with Spain; and the instructions given to the commissioners in this respect had been very stringent. The English merchants appear to have regarded the failure of the treaty with satisfaction. Their chief concern was the maintenance of the open door in the Moluccas, and this they were confident the Dutch would not dare to deny them. For the suggested union they had no desire. The commissioners brought back an unfavourable report of the positions and prospects of the Dutch Company, and it was generally thought 'that the Hollanders have engaged themselves in a labyrinth of business and desire the assistance of this Company to help them out' (*Court Minutes*, July 4, 1615). And whether such a partnership as was proposed would have been practicable is very doubtful; it was difficult enough to induce the factors of the separate Companies to work in harmony, and an attempt to secure a combination between the two nationalities would almost certainly have ended in failure. A few years later, as everyone knows, the experiment was actually tried, and abandoned as hopeless after a short experience.

Before concluding we must look back to the Indian peninsula and briefly recount the events of the rest of the year in the

[1] The negotiations may be followed in detail in the 'Calendar of State Papers, East Indies, 1513–1616.' See also the 'Hague Transcripts' at the India Office, series I., vol. ii., no. 42, and the report just issued (1899) by the Historical MSS. Commission on the papers of the Duke of Buccleuch (p. 166).

dominions of the Mogul. In the present volume we have no letters from this quarter between the end of March, when Steel started overland for Europe, and the middle of October, when a new fleet from home had been lying for some weeks in Swally Roads; nor are there any other documents at the India Office which break the silence of these seven months. Fortunately, however, Kerridge's private letterbook has found its way to the British Museum (*Addl. MS.* 9366), and from this and other sources we can piece together a record that is fairly complete. The war between the natives and the Portuguese, from which neither side had gained either honour or profit, was brought to a conclusion. By the mediation of the Jesuit Xavier, a preliminary treaty of peace was concluded in June between Gonçalo Pinto da Fonseca and Mukarrab Khán. The Portuguese agreed to make compensation for the Queen-mother's vessel, which they had taken and burnt, and to grant certain additional passes to native vessels proceeding to the Red Sea; in return, the English were to be expelled from Surat, and in future they, and also the Dutch, were to be prohibited from trading in the territories of the Mogul; should the English fleet refuse to leave, the Portuguese were to be allowed to land guns for the purpose of driving it out of the pool of Swally (Bocarro's *Decada XIII.*, c. 88; Faria y Sousa's *Asia Portuguesa,* translated by Stevens, vol. iii., c. 6; Biker's *Tratados,* vol. i., p. 189). When, however, this treaty was presented to the Mogul, he refused to confirm it until the Portuguese had made ample compensation for all the damage they had done. Evidently, too, a stand was made against the provision for the expulsion of the English. On the 24th September Edwards wrote to Kerridge that peace 'is further off now than ever, for that it is resolved that the Viceroy of Goa can make no peace with this people, the English remaining in the country, except by especial order from the King of Spain,' and that there was no fear of the demand for their exclusion being agreed to. A month later, Kerridge had a further message from Court that 'the expected peace with the Portingalls is confidently broken off.'

Before long, however, some sort of agreement was reached. Roe heard in November that 'a truce, rather than a peace with the Mogul, is newly procured by the Portugal paying three lecks of rupees for the ship taken, and licence to go to the Red Sea signed;' as to the English, Jahángír professed his inability to expel them, 'being powerful at sea, but he left it to the Portugals to do as they pleased, and to endure likewise their fortune' (letter to Company, November 24, 1615: *Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 60). Possibly, however, the engagement to leave after the expiration of a year, which the Surat Governor forced from the factors there (p. 271), was intended as a pretence of complying with the Viceroy's wishes.

During the year the small band of Englishmen sustained a heavy loss by the death of Thomas Aldworth, the first English agent at Surat, and hence the official ancestor of the present Governor of Bombay. The important services he had rendered in securing the English settlement at Surat, and his subsequent appointment to the charge of that factory and its dependencies, have been narrated in the preface to vol. ii. In the summer of 1615 he went up to Ahmadábád to provide lading for the expected fleet. There he was seized with a dangerous illness; and, as it was feared that if he died the governor would make this an excuse for seizing the goods of the English, an urgent message was sent to Edwards at Ajmere for a special *farmán* to protect them. A day before this arrived, however, Aldworth, afraid to remain longer, and longing for the cool breezes of the coast, had himself carried out of the city on the way to Surat; but the effort proved too much for him, and on the 4th October he expired at the little village of Nariád, in the Kaira district. 'All now is ended,' wrote Kerridge, 'and I destitute and distressed by want of so dear a friend—the greatest cross I could have felt in this country.' He expressed a hope that they had interred the body in such a manner that 'at your return it may be transported hither [Ahmad-ábád] that some memory may be of him to succeeding times;' but we do not hear that this was ever done, and until now

even the place and time of Aldworth's death have remained unknown.

On the 18th September a new fleet from England, under the command of William Keeling, anchored at Swally; and on the 26th, under a salute of forty-eight guns from the ships, all gay with 'waistcloths, ensigns, flags, pendants and streamers,' Sir Thomas Roe landed in state as special ambassador from King James of England to the Great Mogul. As we have seen, in November, 1613, Aldworth had written to the Company that it was necessary that 'a sufficient man be sent in your first ships, that may be resident in Agra with the King, and such a one whose person may breed regard, for they here look much after great men' (vol. i., p. 307); again and again we find the factors repeating that their demands would never be attended to as long as they were represented by 'a mere merchant;' and Best's agreement had specially provided that 'it shall be lawful for the King of England to keep and continue his ambassador at the court of the Great Mogul during the time of the said peace and commerce, there to compound and end all such great and weighty questions as may any way tend to the breach of the said peace' (*Purchas*, vol. i., p. 458). Accordingly, the Company, after some debate, resolved to procure the despatch to the Mogul of 'one that hath been practised in state business' as a special ambassador from the English court. Their choice fell upon Sir Thomas Roe, and they could not have made a happier selection. Of a handsome presence and dignified bearing, suave and courteous in manner, yet firm and even imperious when occasion called, his was just the personality likely to impress an Eastern monarch; while his wide knowledge and vigorous common sense made those who knew him confident that English interests would not suffer at his hands. King James heartily approved the Company's choice, and, furnished with all necessary credentials, Roe embarked with his suite on February 2, 1615.

After calling at the Cape, at the Comoro Islands, and at Socotra, the fleet (as already stated) reached Swally in the

middle of September. The ambassador had quickly a foretaste of the difficulties that were awaiting him at Court. At Surat a new Governor was in power; for Prince Khurram, the favourite son of the Mogul, attracted by the rising revenues of that port, had begged it from his father and had sent down as his representative an insolent and overbearing member of his household named Zúlfikár Khán. The Prince himself, though he by no means shared the Mogul's friendliness to Europeans, favoured the cause of the Portuguese rather than that of the English, and the Governor, therefore, felt himself at liberty to slight the ambassador and practise extortion upon the merchants at his pleasure. But he met his match in Roe. The duel between the two is represented in this volume chiefly by the ambassador's spirited protest on p. 196; but it may be followed step by step in Roe's journal. The opportune arrival of a *farmán* from the Mogul, who was eager to see the presents brought by the new arrival, turned the scale in Roe's favour, and the Governor was obliged in the end to beg the ambassador's friendship and to promise satisfaction of all his demands.

Before leaving Surat Roe addressed a letter to the Portuguese Viceroy, offering him 'comprisure into the league' which he was authorised to conclude with the Mogul. He was by no means convinced that this course was the best, for, as he wrote a little later to the Company, it would be better to 'give him one good blow, which you have power and reason to do . . . . . one prosperous assault upon them would more dishearten them . . . . than twenty repulses ever in your own defence. It is a rule in war; the offensive is both the nobler and the safer part' (letter of November 24, 1615: *Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 60). But he had received orders to make peaceful overtures, and he acted in obedience to them. However, the olive branch was extended with so bad a grace (see p. 197) that it was quietly ignored. Rumours came northward from time to time of great preparations at Goa; but the attacks of the past were never renewed. The Viceroy was, in fact, unable—troubled as he was by the Persians

in the west and the Dutch in the east—to meet the English without powerful reinforcements from Portugal, and those reinforcements were never to arrive.

Roe set out for the Court at the beginning of November, and after a fortnight's travelling reached Burhánpur, the headquarters of the Mogul army operating against the Princes of the Dekhan. As it was judged desirable to establish a factory in that city, for the sale of swords, cloth, lead, etc., to the soldiers, the ambassador paid his respects to Prince Parwíz, the Mogul's second son, who was nominally in command of the army. The necessary permission was obtained without difficulty, and on the 27th the march was resumed. Roe had fallen ill at Burhánpur, and two days after his departure he was given over for dead; but he struggled on, and the 23rd December he reached Ajmere, 'coming in privately in the evening, being not able to sit up.' Christmas was spent in bed, and in spite of the Mogul's impatience to see him and the presents he had brought, it was not until the 10th January that he was able to present himself at Court. He was extremely pleased with the reception accorded to him. The King treated him 'with more favour and outward grace (if by the Christians I were not flattered) than ever was showed to any ambassador, either of the Turk or Persian or other whatsoever;' and we leave him full of hopes of success in his efforts to establish English trade in India upon a firm and lasting foundation.

As in the case of the preceding volume, the necessary transcripts have been made by Miss E. B. Sainsbury, and afterwards confirmed by an independent comparison with the originals. Miss Sainsbury has also compiled the index. With the change in the editorial arrangements, a few minor alterations have been made. The rule by which the names of places are given as actually spelt in the originals has been extended to names of persons, coins, weights and measures, etc.; the address and endorsement of each document have been recorded; the glossary

has been replaced by a series of notes; and a short appendix has been added containing a few documents of importance from other collections in the India Office. These changes, it is hoped, have increased the usefulness of the volume without deviating too far from the original plan of the series.

THE

'ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE'

SECTION OF THE

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S RECORDS

VOL. III.

251

Thomas Elkington[1] to the East India Company.
Laus Deo in Swally Road, aboard the Solomon, the 25th February, 1614 [1615].

HONOURABLE Sir and Worshipful Sirs, my duty premised, etc. May it please you that the 7th March, 1613 [1614] we departed from the Downs with a fair wind, and the 9th of that present at night had the Land's End astern of us. The 25th we fell with the Gran Canaria, being for some seven days between the north and south cape, crossed with contrary winds. The 16th of April 1614 we passed the equinoctial line. The 4th May in a good stiff gale of wind the Hector sprang her foremast, in recovery whereof she was till the 8th of that present, all which time the fleet was forced to shorten sail to keep her company. The 14th June we fell with the land some ten leagues to the northward of Saldania Bay,[2] and the 15th we came into the bay and there came to an anchor; being first questioned by our General whether best so to

do or stand about the Cape in regard of foul weather feared, which might cause bad riding; but upon encouragement of some that formerly had been there, withal the Gift and Hector being light, resolved to do as aforesaid as well for the stiffening of the two said ships, who could not double the Cape without danger as they were, as also to relieve ourselves with what the place afforded, which we found not answerable to former reports, our greatest relief being fish, whereof we took some reasonable quantity, but for flesh could procure but very small store, the people altogether desiring brass, neither esteeming copper or iron. We landed there the Saldanian brought home by Captain Towerson,[1] but after he once got ashore with such things as your Worships bestowed on him we could never see him more; so do greatly fear he mought be cause of our worser entertainment; for which he had no occasion given, being all the voyage more kindly used than he anywise could deserve, but being ungrateful dogs all of them, not better to be expected; and would have been much better for us and such as shall come hereafter if he never had seen England, which your Worships hereafter may please to give order to prevent.

We understood there by notes graven on rocks that the Concord arrived there the 9th May and departed for Bantam the 3rd of June;[2] the Dragon homeward-bound came thither the 20th February and departed the 6th March; the Expedition, likewise homeward-bound, the 21st March and departed therehence the 31st of that present; these being all which we found had been there that year, and hope in God they are long ere this with you safely arrived. A presumption there was by a cooper's name that was scratched on the stones that the Clove had been there, but no certainty thereof.[3] In the night and in a stiff gale of wind the Gift her long boat brake from her stern, and with her the jollywatt,[4] and were both driven into the bottom of the bay, the stem of the long boat breaking short off by reason of bad and sappy timber whereof it was made and bad workmanship, wherein generally your Worships are much abused in all your provisions by such workmen as you employ, to the hazard of all, shuffling up their work in such manner, in hope of never hearing more of it by reason of the length of the voyage, as is lamentable

to see men to be so respectless of the safety of such a voyage and men's lives, and all for some private gain of their own; being thought the Hector's foremast was defective before it was set in. The loss of these boats hindered our business much in Saldania, but were again recovered and made as serviceable as before.

Having fitted ourselves with water and what else the place afforded, we departed Saldania the 30th June and came to the bay of St. Augustyne, on the island of St. Laurance,[1] the 7th August, the three other ships getting in the night before, but we being somewhat to leeward could not fetch it till the next morning. In our passage between the Cape Bona Spe[2] and St. Laurance we had much foul weather with contrary winds and strong currents. Our General's intent of putting in there being to furnish us with what the Cape would not afford, as flesh and wood, with both which we were reasonable well fitted, finding pretty store of oxen good and good cheap, and mought have had more if we had had what they desired, which was silver chains,[3] in which for the value of 2s. we had a good ox, whereas in money we could not have it for 5s., being forced to use all the white whistle chains in the fleet, which so long as they lasted we wanted not; therefore very fitting henceforward your Worships furnish such ships as you send for these parts with what quantity thereof as may be fitting for that purpose. In this place we had some fish and store of tamarinds, which, with the flesh, much comforted our men. We stayed there till the 12th at night and then set sail to proceed on our voyage; and the 23rd fell with the Islands of Mohiela and Comora,[4] where by report is plenty of all things for refreshment, but doubting our mounsone to be far spent we stayed not at any of them. The second September we passed the line again, and the 9th day we fell with the island of Socotra and there came to an anchor in the road of Delishaw, being very courteously entertained by the king of the island, who furnished us with what his barren island afforded, being goats and some small store of cattle, but very dear, paying for a very bad cow ten pieces of eight, and a goat one piece of eight. We bought of him some 27 kintalls aloes at 30 pieces of eight per kintall, every kintall making 94 lbs. English or thereupon, which we packed up in three pipes as per an invoice sent you may appear, being forced to take their weight,

having neither beam nor weights of our own in any of the ships, which we have and shall much want, being very requisite in these voyages, whereof for hereafter may it please you to take notice of.[1]

From thence we set sail the 14th of that present and the 2nd October fell with the coast of India, and after were plying up for the bar of Surat till the 15th present, coming to an anchor the same day in South Swally, God be thanked, in safety, having lost in the ship the Solomon till then since our departure from England only one man (who came diseased from England); but since we came into this place have buried out of her seven more, all of the flux, which I conceive proceedeth of their inordinate drinking of a sort of wine that distilleth out of the Palmetto trees, called Tadie,[2] whereof this place affordeth much. The next day after our arrival in Swally Road came aboard of our General Mr. Thomas Aldworth,[3] of whom, according to your Worships' commission given, our General propounded unto him such questions touching the estate of your business in Surrat as therein it pleased you to set down, whose answer thereto you shall herewith receive.[4] We also were given to understand from him that the Great Mogul had debarred the Portingall from trade in any of his dominions, by reason of a ship they took at the bar's foot of Surrat of very great value pertaining to his subjects, as also had besieged a town possessed by them some twelve leagues to the southward of Surrat called Damon, which siege as yet continueth, though with little hope of prevailing. This report of the Portingales' casting out, with the good usage of Mr. Aldworth and other your Worships' factors left by the Dragon and Osiander (whereof there remained at our arrival in Surat only Mr. Thomas Aldworth and William Bedulfe,[5] at Agymer, where the court now is, Thomas Kerrydge,[6] and at Agra Nicholas Whithington[7]) put us in good hope to find the like. Notwithstanding was thought fitting, before we landed anything, to make some trial of their inclinations towards us now upon the arrival of the ships, as also to procure what other privileges should be needful for us and not already set down by General Beste; which before we could demand of them we were demanded by them to go in their aid to the siege of Damon with your Worships' ships, which our

General in his good discretion refusing to do, as also some other their unreasonable demands, their former kindness was converted into all harsh entreating of us, yet neither denied us trade or gave us encouragement of good entertainment. Which seeing, as also doubting that what had passed in the Red Sea with them was not yet forgotten (their words importing no less), made us doubtful what to do, withal knowing no place in the Indies for the venting of such commodities as we had, nor any other means to right ourselves of them. At last, presuming upon the king's *firma*,[1] having first somewhat (as we thought) mollified the Governor Magrobocan,[2] we resolved to land the goods and present for the king, persuading ourselves, howsoever he might prove harsh unto us, he would not dare to offer any violence, holding it better to put it to a little adventure than forego a trade so long sought after and embraced by your Worships with so good applause. In these uncertainties and delays we were held till the 8th November, and then Mr. Edwards[3] with the most part of your Worships' factors and goods such as then was appointed to be landed, went for Surrat; Mr. Edwards with some others intending forthwith to go for the Court, Mr. Aldworth and others thereto appointed for Amadavar and Cambaya for providing of what lading they could for return of one ship or more, Mr Ensworth and myself with some others being appointed to stay at Surrat for receiving and sale of such goods as were left aboard. Mr. Ensworth at his going ashore not being half well and so continued worse and worse until the 23rd of that present, and then it pleased God to take him to His mercy, and the same day likewise Tymothy Wood, one of your Worships' factors appointed for Bantam; both of them dying of the flux. From the 8th November that we landed to the 30th we were delayed of by Magrobocan and [the] Customer in the customing of our goods and other disturbances, as viewing the king's present, taking the choice of all goods at his own pleasure and price, and rating our goods for the custom at such high prices as themselves thought good, and in such manner that, whereas the custom is 3½ per cent., by the overrating of our commodities they make us pay upwards of 5 per cent., all which we were forced to suffer for our speedier despatch. And so the first December Mr. Edwards, Mr. Rogers,[4] Thomas Myttford,[5]

Wm. Ufflett[1] and others departed for Agra by the way of Amadavar, and with them Mr. Aldworth and Mr. Dodsworth[2] for the business there. Having bought in Amadavar, Sarques, and Baroch such quantities of indigo and cloth[3] as per the invoice sent may appear, being all returned again in safety, Henry Smith excepted, who Mr. Edwards intended to have carried to Agra, but falling sick of a flux in Amadavar, there departed this life, a youth much to be bewailed, his sober and virtuous carriage promising good fruits for hereafter.[4] In their return from Amadavar Mr. Aldworth with his company was set upon by thieves but, God be thanked, your goods escaped, only Humpfrey Elkington[5] was shot through the thigh with an arrow, but again recovered; and all such goods as bought, aboard in safety. God send it in like safety unto your hands.

Of Mr. Edwards' arrival at the Court we yet hear no news, and is to be doubted none will be here before the departure of the ships. From him much reformation of our abuses and hard usage is expected to be obtained from the king, but how it will be effected time must learn. But so far as I can perceive the present Governor is so favoured and the king ruled by him that whatsoever good is to be expected from the Court must be by means of this man here, the king referring all concerning us unto him and will not do anything in our behalf but what from him he shall be advised; which if we had been formerly to understand so much, and so to have in some more milder sort tempered ourselves by giving way to some of his lesser requests it would have gained us much time and trouble, but our information of speedy redress from the king, and how heinous it would be to give consent or suffer his presents to be seen drew us into many inconveniences, making no doubt for his other demand of going against the Portingall we should, without doing it, have given him some reasonable satisfaction. If the business continue so (as I see not but it is likely, though therein I am of opinion contrary to others) I see not that it is so requisite to maintain one at so great a charge at Court as I doubt your Worships will find, but do rather think a man of indifferent condition will be there sufficient, for that, as before I have writ, the king will confirm nothing but what from hence he by

his Governor shall be informed of, which, if so, it [will] prove more needful to temporise with the Governor here than [the] king above. And thus I have briefly advised your Worships of such occurrences as till then happened, not doubting that by the bearer hereof, Mr. Edward Dodsworth (God sending him life), who our General for that purpose thought fit to send home, your Worships will more particularly be advised of all matters; to which I do refer me.

And now you shall understand that the 18th of January came to the bar of Surrat the Viceroy of Portugal with six galleons from 800 to 1000 tons, three smaller ships from 150 to 300 tons, two galleys and some 60 frigates. The 20th the three smaller ships with many of their frigates came within the sands at Swally, and with great resolution came aboard the Hope and once or twice entered her, but were by them put off again and by the rest of the ships so galled that they were forced to forsake their own ships and betake themselves to swimming, which gave the Hope time to clear herself, and doubting what trains might be left aboard the Portingal ships thought it the best course to fire them, which accordingly they did,[1] having in this conflict, as we were certainly advised from Daman, slain, burnt, and drowned of the Portingals upwards of 350 men and amongst them many of note and most of their resolutest soldiers; of ours, God be thanked, only five were slain, viz., three out of the Hope and two out of the Hector, and the head of the Hope's mainmast by a misfortune fired, but after repaired. In this fight the great ships came as near the sands as they could and plyed with their great ordnance at our ships and they the like at them again till night gave them no further leave. Having lost these three ships, within ten days they supplyed themselves from Daman and Diu with four more, after whose arrival, to weary our men and keep them in action, they made many shows and proffers to come in with their ships but never more effected it, but resolved on a more dangerous course for us, and was to fire boats chained and stuffed with powder, wildfire and other combustible matters, and so with the ebb to let them drive on the ships; the first whereof they attempted the 9th February at night with two boats, one whereof came aboard the Hope,

but, God be thanked, cleared herself without hurt and so burning drave by her. The next night they essayed with six more but had the like success. In this their last attempt a small boat was taken by our General, wherein six men, whereof two slain and four alive, which he hath aboard and intendeth as I think to send unto your Worships.[1] The Viceroy, it seems, perceiving his attempts not to answer his expectation, the next day with his whole fleet set sail and went and rid at the bar, from whence the day following they all departed, but whither, not yet certainly known; we daily expecting their return hither again, or encounter at sea, where it may be they lie in wait for us, wherein God's will be done.

Touching the estate of your business in these parts you shall understand our General hath landed twelve chests money, all the cloth, elephants' teeth, lead, quicksilver, vermilion, tin, glasses, comb-cases, Muscovy hides, pictures, knives, two chests crooked sword-blades, lances, strong waters, and what other things appointed for presents; of which goods Mr. Edwards carried with him for Agra 160 broadcloths, the most part of the glasses, comb-cases, pictures, strong waters, sword-blades and knives. Of the rest left in Surrat only hath been sold the elephants' teeth, at 70 mamudos the maund, and a small part of the lead at 8¾ ma. the maund. For broadcloth, Surrat is no place of vent for any, except it be by great chance some great man buy a cloth, three or four, for coverings of elephants and making of saddles; else I see not any use they put it unto, none thereof worn in any garment, being so dear that for the price of a covett[2] of our cloth a man will there according to their wearing make himself two or three suits; so that, if you desire to vent any quantity, it must be the cheapness that must cause it. Mr. Edwards his order is not to sell under 25 ma. the covett, he having good hopes to find both price and despatch to content for them in Agra, which God grant, much fearing the quantity now gone thither will be sufficient to furnish that place for a year, so that if you have proceeded according to advice for the quantity advised for, of force some other place must be sought for vent of them, which here we have generally conceived of would be Persia, our opinions being strengthened by the report

of one Richard Steel, who came out of Turkey through Persia to Surrat, and by consent of all was thought fit to be entertained in your Worships' service to return that way again, and with him to send John Crowther,[1] one of your Worships' factors which came in these ships, to discover the trade there, with what fit harbours for ships, and [this] done the one to go for England to make report thereof unto your Worships, and the other to return back for Surrat.

The lead as before some small part thereof sold and the rest upon price, being offered before my departure for altogether 7¾ ma. the maund, and think Mr. Aldworth after the departure of the ships shall attain to 8 mamudos, at which price I think the like quantity now sent will be vented, and not above.

Tin, great store thereof in the country and esteemed much better than ours,[2] but this year being some want thereof made ours the better and for that reason had before my departure sold it for 39 ma. the maund, but not carried away; whether after our departure it would or no, the party being a great man and deemed he had overbought it. The tin of the country when this was sold was worth 54 ma. the maund. I think the like quantity now sent would yearly sell about 30 ma. the maund.

Quicksilver at our arrival worth 350 ma. the maund, but presently fell to 260,[3] whereupon thought better to keep than sell at that rate, hoping after the departure of the ships it would again rise; being always a vendible commodity in this place and not to be glutted with what quantity as I conceive can be attained in England, though not to that profit that a smaller quantity may be sold at. The like for vermilion, always worth 10 mamudos less than quicksilver.

Sword-blades crooked, somewhat broad and thick backs and such as will bow and not stand, will sell to good reckoning; but straight, nothing esteemed.[4] Those now sent (I mean the crooked) not to their liking, yet those few left at Surrat and Baroach sold at 30, 35 and 40 mamudos the piece; the rest sent for Agra doubt not but will sell far better.

Muscovy hides[5] according to the trial we have had here not much regarded, except they mought be had much better cheap

than those now sent cost in England; therefore cannot encourage to send more hereafter. For comb-cases, pictures, looking-glasses and other such toys, I wish not any to be sent, at least sold on land but rather aboard, for though they may one way give some content, yet they cause so much trouble in the customing, and discontent to great men that will desire them at their own prices as they shall think good, that we found much hindrance by them in our business; which must hereafter be prevented by selling aboard to those that shall desire them, who is only the Governor that shall be appointed by the king, who hath order to buy all such toys, none of the meaner sort daring to meddle with them; therefore as before not to send any but what may serve for presents or sold in that manner, not finding sale for any here in Surrat after once landed, and what they shall do in Agra I doubt not but hereafter they will advise.

Commodities fitting to be sent for this place yearly will be some 200 cloths, the most part stametts[1] and Venice reds, the rest yellows, popinjays,[2] grass greens and pink colours, but for other colours by no means to send any. Elephants' teeth, the like or a greater parcel than now last sent will sell near about the price those sold at, to be about 2½ the cwt.,[3] round and without flaws; those we now brought very well liked, though in working proved (as they say) not so white as what cometh from Mosambicke (Mozambique). Lead, 1000 pigs or the quantity thereof cast into smaller, being fitted for their occasions for carriage etc. Quicksilver, what you can procure. Vermilion, the like. Sword-blades, broad and crooked, with thick backs and such as will bow and not stand, but no straight. Coral in round or long beads and branches, great vent for it here, and will turn to great profit,[4] whereof may it please your Worships with the first to send what quantity you can procure of any of the sorts, especially round beads and branches, with some amber beads and amber unwrought; fair emeralds and pearls, likewise well requested; with some crimson-coloured velvets and satins of the best. Any other commodity that our land affordeth, I cannot perceive to be here requested.

Touching the moneys, weights, and measures here used, your moneys current in Surrat is of silver, called a mamudo, being of value almost 12*d*. sterling.[1] Another coin there is of copper, called a pize, whereof you have commonly 34 in the mamudo, being so great as they are worth it;[2] therefore as copper riseth or falleth you have more or less in the mamudo. The piece of eight is generally worth 5 ma. less 3 pize the single cross, and 5 ma. less 4 pize the double cross,[3] and what they shall want of weight besides to be deducted, which oft proveth very much; therefore a special regard must be had to the weightiness of them. Other coins pass in Cambaya and Amadavar called rupies, whereof both one and other Mr. Dodsworth carrieth to show unto your Worships, with weights and measures. The weight is called a maund, which maketh near upon 32 lbs. English, and in it 40 seers, and in every seer 18 pize, except at Agra, where the weight is almost double. The measure is called a covett, whereof there is two, one whereby our English cloth is only sold by, of length 35½ inches;[4] the other, whereby all other commodity is sold by, is of length 26½ inches.

Touching the trade of Surrat it may be I may be of different opinion from others; yet hold it my duty to write what I think thereof and leave the further consideration thereof to your Worships. First, you must expect to be crossed therein by the Portingall with all the force he can make; so that it shall be needful every year, to have your goods go and come in safety, to send no less strength than is sent with us, but rather more. For we see now, and is much to be doubted, that every year they will increase theirs. And whereas some think that going thus strongly provided for three or four years it may chance quite to discourage them, you are to think that those that have so long enjoyed so beneficial a trade to them will put very hard for it before they will be thrust out, having their forces so near at hand that they do it with little or no charge in regard what you are at. And for such goods as chiefly you desire, which is indigo, although that in two years the country people hath shipped out little or none, nor the Portingalls, in regard of the wars with them, not bought much, yet by report of them that went for Amadavar and Sarques there was not 1000 churles

more than what they bought to be had. Now if these people come to have peace with the Portingall (which they cry out for) whereby they may again transport and the Portingall likewise buy, you may imagine what would be left for the English and whether the gains thereof will countervail the charge fitting to be sent. So to conclude, except it may be followed with no greater charge than what therehence may be laden (which I conceive may be one ship per year) it will draw a greater charge than benefit can be made, besides the harsh usage, exacting of customs, slow sales, danger in transporting your goods, great charges of a lieger in Agra, and other distastes which I omit to write of, hoping some of them will be reformed by him that lieth there. Thus having writ my mind thereof, refer you to advice and report of others.

There is left with Mr. Thomas Aldworth and the rest in money, lead, quicksilver, vermilion, tin, etc., by computation a matter of 10,000*l.* sterling as it is there worth, which hath been thought fitting presently to bring into money as the time wil afford, and with the proceed thereof to go for Amadavar and there to invest it indigo to be in Surrat before the rains; that, God sending your ships in safety, it is to be hoped that they shall not need to stay long for the lading of one, Mr. Edwards having also with him in cloth and other commodities a matter of 7,000*l.* sterling, the most part whereof is likewise hoped will be employed and sent down in commodity against the coming of the said ships; and for what calico cloth they shall want will be provided in Baroch in a very small time after their arrival. So that, if the Portingall cross it not by getting into Swally before the ships come, they may have a quick despatch, but if they get that place (as is doubted they will endeavour by all means) they will put them to much trouble; for that the river of Surrat they will command with their frigates that a boat shall not stir in nor out. Such factors as your Worships appointed for Bantam being destitute of money for providing of necessaries and their year being expired, by order from our General I have paid unto them for one-third part of their wages, after 5*s.* the piece of eight, as followeth: to Raph Preston 15*l.*, to John Oxwicke 25*l.*, to Edmund Aspynall 11*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, to John

Sandcroft, 16*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, to Richard Batty 16*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, to Humphry Elkington 15*l.*, to Edward Holmden 10*l.*, to Samuel Juxon 10*l.*, to William Vernon 10*l.*, to Richard Pytt 10*l.*, to Tymothie Mallory 10*l.*, and to Jno. Tucker 10*l.* Some of these here set down were appointed for Surrat, but our General for some causes thought fittest to take them for Bantam, leaving others in their room.

Aboard the Hector in 14° latitude, the 10th March 1614 [1615].

By your Commission received of our General I perceive it is your pleasure I should go for Bantam, which though it were contrary to my expectation yet such being your Worships' order I am willing to submit myself thereunto and still will be ready with all loyal service to obey your Worships' commands. By our General's order I embarked myself in this ship the Hector and having despatched all [our business?] at Surrat and with Mr. Aldworth, we set sail from Swally Road the 2nd present; and the 4th day being off Damon in the morning we met with the Viceroy with seven ships and two galleys, who willingly let us run ahead of him and then set sail and gave us a faint chase; and then fetching upon us and our General resolved to stand with him, he bore up the helm and stood back again. God grant it be not for Surrat, which if he do I doubt the town will hardly stand against him. We have now been quit of him this five days; therefore doubt not but may freely despatch away the Hope, in whom there is laden so many bales indigo as per the invoice and bill of lading may appear, she being not able to take in what for her was provided, so the rest is put aboard the Hector. Having dispeeded away the Hope we are to address ourselves for Priaman, from whence we hope to send the Hector home with pepper and the remainder of such goods as the Hope left out.

A letter was received from Mr. Edwards of his arrival at the court, delivery of the present and good acceptance thereof, but being but newly come no business effected. The Byskay lances you sent not here desired; therefore not to send any more without further advice.

Thus, with my prayers to God for your healths and prosperities, I commit you to His holy protection, and rest

Yours always to be commanded,

Thomas Elkington.

Endorsed: Thomas Elkington, dated 25th Feb. and kept till the 10th March, 1614 [1615], from Surrat. By the Hope. Extr [acted.]

252 (1).

This is a duplicate of No. 177 (Vol. II., p. 148).

252 (2).

William Edwards to the East India Company.

In Adgmeare (Ajmere).

WE are now in the 26th February 1614 [1615], and the former is copy of one sent by sea in the [Hope]. And now it may please your Worships to understand that I arrived here on the prime of this present in company of the merchants and others whose names are in the margent, where at my first coming I was very honourably entertained by one of the principal respected gentlemen of the Emperor's court, brother to the chief and best-beloved queen. His name is Usseph Chann,[1] who desired me he might present me to the king and be my *Procuradore*,[2] which he did and since hath done between the King and our affairs many honourable offices, besides the furthering of our respect and favour with others of the principal gentlemen of the court; and among others we are very gracious in the eyes of the king's minion, Mahabut Chann,[3] who hath likewise done me many worthy offices, and generally our cause is favoured of all. At my first audience with the King, after delivery of our King's Majesty's letter and

Mr. Rogers, preacher
Tho. Mitford,
Jo. Browne,
Robt. Young,
Nich. Ufflet,
Fra. Fettiplace,[1]
Wm. Nelson,
Philip Baker,
Robt. Hutchinson.

presents, which were these: our King, Queen, and Lady Elizabeth's pictures, the rich cloak, the best case of bottles, the great ebony framed looking-glass and the case of knives, all which the king esteemed much, especially our King's picture and the rich cloak, the King seemed to me to speak out of sincere affection these words: "You are welcome: your ships have done me good service below: I am much affected to your King, and will send him my letter and picture and what else you shall advise me may give him best content: and whatsoever you would have me do for you let it be set down in writing and it shall be done;" and then demanded of my interpreter if he had told me what he said. "Tell him," saith he, "I am much affected to his King and will do for him whatsoever he shall desire;" with many other such-like gracious speeches, which would put all doubts of fair and peaceable entertainment in your ensuing commerce apart, were they not Moors; but the best is to be hoped. The King's liking was such unto the cloak that presently he gathered the same in his arms and carried it in to his foresaid queen to show her, which was much admired of the gentlemen about him, and given for an extraordinary favour and liking thereunto, such is his greatness.

One principal cause of this hopeful entrance and more than ordinary entertainment hath been a late fight between the Portingalls and our ships. The Viceroy of Goa coming in person with all the force that those parts can make, arrived at the bar of Suratt on the 15th January last with six very great galleons and three lesser ships and seventy frigates and two galleys, where they rid till the 20th ditto, at what time the Viceroy sent towards our ships her (their?) three lesser vessels with two galleys and thirty-six frigates; which our General perceiving sent forth to meet them only the Hope, which the three ships and galleys laid presently aboard with as many frigates as could lie about her, but our General doubting she might miscarry, let slip with all his fleet and went and rescued her, and having freed her enforced the galleys and frigates to make away, took the three ships and set them on fire, by which they were all consumed and between four and five hundred men slain, burnt and drowned, and of ours (blessed be God) only four and some few hurt. The rest of the Portingale fleet ride still and are in treaty of peace with the

country, but little hope to effect it; and it is thought that the next spring tides some further bickering will be had between their ships and ours, which all our men with good resolution expecteth. In the meantime our ships are receiving their lading with as much expedition as they may, which consist of 1200 churles of indigo, little more or less, and might have been two ships' lading by the quantity that are to be had, but our loss of time at Suratt hath prevented us; and the General, loth to overshoot his time for return of these ships for England, hath advised unto Mr. Aldworthe for Amadavar that he would not exceed the fine of January in his stay, which hath abbreviated their proceedings there. Some calicoes and cotton yarns they also lade, which I suppose may be sufficient to return the Hector; the certainty whereof I cannot advise, because at my coming from thence no resolution was had what ship to return.

All those things for presents were well appointed and are as well accepted, viz. the great trunk of French wares, except the crystal, amber and other beads and fans, which are nothing worth here; the gilded comb-cases of all sorts, single looking-glasses set in colours, but the black frames they esteem not nor any other thing in black, howsoever rich; knives of the best sorts, the blades being good (but the most of those now sent were bad blades); swords if they be good are much esteemed, but not being so are little worth; these now are not good nor of the fashion, wherefore I send you here enclosed the fashion and bigness, which must be thick though they be heavy; some five or six white beaver hats, with the brims somewhat broad, would be well accepted; as many cushionets,[1] such as are used in London by women to work upon, with their boxes well set forth, some pillow sweetbag or other like thing of the rockwork[2] used lately in England and now out of fashion and therefore may be had good cheap, give good content; pictures of all sorts are much requested for presents but not for sale, but those on boards will be defaced by the heat of the weather, as these now sent, in warping and splitting, but for their workmanship are much esteemed; cases of hot waters, the cases being good, but these were defaced by stowing them in the ship's hold, the heat scalding off all the hair, but may be remedied by stowing them on the orlops.[3] The mastiffs that were sent had

been much esteemed if they had come to hand, but died by the way except one young dog, which I presented to the King and he highly esteemeth; for that the same day I presented him the King caused him to fight with a tiger,[1] which he presently killed, and for the same the King hath given him into the charge of a gentleman of great worth to keep, and often sendeth for him to look upon. Some more of the same, with some great curled water spaniels, according to my former,[2] would be valued of the King beyond things of greater worth; but a charge must be given to the masters or commanders of your ships for their good usage, for some of these were neglected.

As there is great hope of a profitable trade in these parts, so it calls upon a continual open hand with these people, for as well the King as gentlemen are upon all occasions to be put in mind to be mindful of us, and so we are to buy their loves with our moneys. Divers things to be had in the Exchange[3] would give content, whereof themselves can give no reason or direction, but being novelties they embrace them thankfully.

Of the cloth which we have brought to this place we have sold and delivered forty-two pieces and esteem that forty more are sold, for that so much is appointed for the King at ten ruppes one with another, the covadoe being 31 inches ¾, the cloths advancing by the difference of measure, in so many as are already sold, 11½ per c.[4] The colours were well appointed; and I wish that you send no sad colours of any sorts except grass-green, for they delight altogether in light colours, and if you hold to these colours now sent I think you shall not err therein. The rest of what cloths are now sent I doubt not will sell, but not many more by the year, for that they serve only for the King's followers and of the better sort, who being served little inquiry is made for them; so as I suppose 200 cloths at present by the year may well vent; and hereafter, dispersing our factors in other parts of the country when more certainty of a settled trade shall be, three or four hundred cloths may vent well.

There is remaining at Agra about twenty cloths of the former voyage's account, but by advice from thence they are so bad as they will not sell at any price, some of them being all over

stained and some others of them rotten; and Nicholas Withington, who remains there (whether upon the disgrace of that cloth lying on his hands through the bad condition or an unfortunate accident that lately befell him, in being mistaken by the justice of the place and apprehended for a Portingale in the question that is,[1] and his goods sequestered, it is not known), is lately distracted in his wits and thereby disordered in his person and somewhat far spent there (?) Order is put there for the safe preserving of what there is, and we expect the King's going thither within a few days, when by God's permission I shall take and give reason of what remainders shall be, which, besides 3000*l.* sterling[2] returned, little more or less, in these ships by Mr. Aldworth, I think will not be much. The particular reasons you have or shall receive from him.

Tin, I understand, since my coming hither is sold at Suratt for 39 mamoodes the maund, lead at 8 mamoodes $\frac{3}{4}$, elephants' teeth are sold at 70 mamoodes the maund, quicksilver is worth 240 mamoodes the maund, Muscovy hides some few will sell at eight or nine rupees per piece, for they are used only of the better sort of people. The two pieces of scarlet now sent are all over spotted and seem rather a motley than a dyed colour. They are either to be new dyed here or returned, for as they are they be little worth. Also the deer colour is much spotted and of all colours will worst hold; and therefore I wish that you sent no more, for it is not much esteemed or used here. As before I have written your Worships of a consultation and conclusion of your servant factors for a discovery to be made by Rich. Steele and John Crowther, and for that purpose have delivered them a commission or remembrance to govern themselves by; so now I have delivered unto them in money six hundred royalls of eight (I say 600 royalls of 8) which I suppose may largely defray the needful for such a journey, whereof he[3] will give unto your Worships an account and reason; besides I have delivered unto him a letter of credit for 50*l.* sterling more, if any disastrous accident should befall him in his journey (which God forbid); and in his journey from Suratt to this place in our company having had a misfortune by the loss of all his apparel and other his necessaries, being stolen out of his tent in the night time, I have delivered him 40 roopees

towards his losses, to furnish himself with some such needfuls as that mischance deprived him of, which I presume your Worships will allow of, and the rather for being lost in your Worships' service, and his means at present not large.

A letter of the 16th November last,[1] and received the 28th of December following, was directed to Mr. Aldworth from Peter Floris at Maslipatan in the Globe, who adviseth that the Darling departed from Bantam almost a year before for Muslipatan and then no news of her; he adviseth that calicoes are in no request at Bantam nor at the Moloocos and that no English ships were there at that time; that the James was gone to Siam and Patanya, and the Osiander to Priaman, where the English are in danger, for that the King of Achine had for some discontent sent divers fustes and other boats to fetch them to Achine, but it is hoped that the Osiander will be there to carry them away before the fustes can arrive; he writeth that he had then nothing to buy or sell, but only attended the recovery of some debts hanging out, and then would set sail for England.

Among other pictures, if you send any, it would do well to appoint a dozen of those small creased pictures which show, some two faces or persons, and some three, according as you stand to look upon them.[2] They were esteemed in England when they first were devised, but since are little regarded. They are cheap there and would be much esteemed here, for having never been seen in these parts. Two or three cross-bows well set forth, but not with pearl (for those works are common here), would be a good present for the Mogul, for he useth much hunting with a piece for want of a cross-bow, and here they cannot give a temper fitting for such a use. Three or four turkeycocks and hens would do well for the Mogul; he hath two cocks but no hens, and would esteem much of their brood. The fight of '88[3] and our Saviour's passion would do well. Some extraordinary musician or two on the lute and other instruments the King would gladly entertain for such time as themselves should be willing to serve him, with a sweet voice or two; such things as those delights him much.[4]

The King having given order for the framing of a letter to our King, after it was finished and ready for the seal the Mogul

perusing the same disliked it for not sufficiently displaying the title, honour and attributes of our King, interlined the same with his own hand in a more respective manner, as may appear in the said letter, the copy whereof I send herewith, which I desire may be set forth in English with its true colour, which I understand by the best interpretation can here be had, that it is full of princely compliments unto the full satisfaction of our King's Majesty in the points of our desired commerce.[1] The original I reserve to send by your Worships' next ships that shall return from hence. With the same letter I [*blank*] a firmaund from the Mogul directed to all his governors both of his sea-ports and chief cities and towns in the behalf of the English, very effectual to the purpose of our trade and fair entertainment, which will much [*blank*] us, for the last firmaund was directed to one particular man by name then governor of Suratt, and since dead, which being upon some occasion produced for our defence in some question with a governor it was answered that now it was of no force, the party being dead unto whom it was directed; wherefore I have obtained this, directed to all the present governors and their successors, and doubt not to prevail in all our reasonable demands; the copy whereof I also send herewith in the Persian language.

In the cloths that hereafter you shall send I wish you sent no deer colour, for they will spot, nor any bluish colour, for they will not sell; the chief colours are greens of all sorts, and stamells and Venice reds as many as of all other colours. The first which we brought (which were 80 cloths) are all sold; since when we have received 72 cloths more from Suratt, which I suppose may vent here before the arrival of your Worships' next ships. But in Suratt or between that and this place is no vent for any, or very few; so as I esteem 200 cloths every year will be as much as this place will vent, according with my former.[2] For hope of venting any other commodities by trials to be made than cloth, lead, tin, elephants' teeth and quicksilver will be labour lost, for here is neither use of any other commodities nor affection unto change.

Whereas divers moneys and goods of one John Mydenoll[3] deceased in Adgmere some months past have been sequestered

in the hands of the great Mogul, by the information of Richard Steel, the bearer hereof, and since recovered under the right and title of the Honourable and Right Worshipful Company of Merchants trading for the East Indies, and part thereof received in moneys by Thomas Querridge unto the value of 3,500 roopeis, the rest, which amounteth to 2,000 roopies (little more or less), is yet in the hands of the King, all amounteth to 5,500 roopies or thereabouts, yet uncertain, the rate of the goods not being yet published. The money received hath been remitted unto Mr. Aldworth at Suratt, whereof and of the rest he will give you account and reason; as also the said Richard Steele can inform your Worships of the progress of that business, unto whom and to Mr. Aldworth and Thomas Querridge their advice, I refer you, for the [ ] was elected before my coming into this country.

My duty and service remembered, I commit your Worships to God's merciful protection, who direct all your consultations and actions to His glory.

Your Worships' humble servant,

Will. Edwardes.

Endorsed: Amadavar, 20 of December, 1614.[1] Mr. Edwards to the Governor and Company.

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Christopher Farewell[2] to Sir Thomas Smythe.

From aboard the Solomon in Swally Road, the 27th of February 1614 [1615].

RIGHT Worshipful, my bounden duty remembered, with my daily prayers for your Worship's health and prosperity. These are to certify that on the 20th of October last 1614 (God be thanked) we arrived here in safety, and the 8th of November following Mr. Edwards with the rest departed from the ships to Suratt, where after their strange and uncourteous entertainment and not without much difficulty

and tedious delays they obtained licence of the Mocrobocan for their further proceeding toward the court; who together with his company departed from Suratt thitherward on the 30th ditto, where God grant them safely to arrive and to obtain such good success as may at full answer your Worships' hopeful expectation. It pleased our commanders here, in the disposing of us abroad in several parts for the procuring of goods, to appoint Mr. Oxwicke, Mr. Ball and myself for Baroche, where according to order and commission we have used the best of our endeavours in buying of such quantity of calicoes as were thought fitting to be bought, together with some parcels of indigos, the best which those parts near Suratt do afford, the account whereof is sent with this convoy. And also whereas by commission I was formerly appointed for Bantan, it hath likewise pleased our General upon some considerations and occasions best known to himself[1] to alter the same and to leave me here at Suratt with Mr. Aldworth, where with my best endeavours (as in all duty I am bound) I shall labour to show myself both faithful and diligent in your Worships' affairs which shall be committed to my care and charge. As touching other proceedings, together with the late fight our General hath had with the Portingalls and the good success thereof I leave to the better relation of others, resting thankful to God for His great mercy in working so safe a delivery and joyful victory over them; unto whose almighty protection I commit your Worship and all your worthy affairs, with my humble thanks for the undeserved favour I formerly received at your Worship's hands. Craving leave, I remain

Your Worship's ever faithful and obedient servant,

Chr. Farewell.

Addressed: To the Honourable Knight Sir Thomas Smith, Governor of the Right Honourable and Right Worshipful Company of the Merchants trading to the East Indias.

Endorsed: February the 27th, 1614. Chr. Farewell from Surratt. No import.

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William Biddulph [1] to the East India Company.

Laus Deo in Surat, the 28th of February, 1614 [1615].

RIGHT Honourable and Right Worshipful, my duty remembered, etc. May it please you I writ per Anthonye Starkey,[2] steward of the Dragon, overland, also per the James the 28th of October anno 1613, per way of Meslepotan (Masulipatam), and per the Globe the 9th of August, 1614, per the same conveyance;[3] wherein we advised of all things then needful, both of the state of the country as also of the weights, measures and moneys of this place, hoping long before this they are come in safely to your hands. Since, here arrived the 15th of October last Captain Nicholas Downton with four ships, and the 16th ditto Mr. Aldworth and myself repaired aboard, and, after consultation held, it was agreed upon for Mr. Edwardes to be lieger at Agra in the King's court and Mr. Aldworth to be chief in Surat, as also for Mr. Aldworth and Mr. Dodsworth with some others to go for Amadavaz for the effecting of business there, Mr. Elkington with others and myself to remain in Surat for the despatch of business here, Mr. Oxwicke, Mr. Farwell and Mr. Ball with Esay Butt at Borocha, and Mr. Holmeden, Mr. Humfreye Elkington and Richard Pitt for Cambaya to search out what commodities were there fit for our country. For the passages and proceedings of goods bought and sold in these places, as also what is shipped for England and the southward [4] I refer me to the invoice, as also to our general letter; as also for the danger and trouble our ships and men have passed here with the Portingalls, and much time lost by the slowness of these people, all which may be remedied, having a sufficient stock here to provide against our ships coming, they not needing to stay above forty days at most. It may be some will show reasons, but I make no doubt but that your grave wisdoms will well consider of it before you leave this place, considering the commodities so fit for England as also the vent is

here for our commodities, and good commodities here for all places of the Indies, and having made such an entrance into it, hoping in God the Portingalls' pride is cooled and that they will never come to molest us more, having enough to do to defend themselves against their neighbour enemies, having all the Indies to their foes, and is credibly reported the king of Persia layeth great siege against Ormus to root them out from thence, the Portingalls being hated of all people wheresoever they come, and there is great hope, if the King of Spain send them not much aid the sooner, they will lose all their possibilities[1] or the most part here in the Indies in a short time.

Now may it please your Worships to perceive that by the consent of Mr. Edwards, Mr. Aldworth and Mr. Dodsworth, I have allowed me here for three years service ending this present month 90*l.*, which is but sufficient for the apparelling of me in manner of a merchant, they answering they could not augment my wages until answer from your Worships at home; so that my humble request unto your Worships is that you would consider of me, referring myself wholly unto your accustomed liberalities, not doubting but I shall be able to perform as good service as any second your Worships shall employ for these parts. Thus, craving pardon for my boldness, I cease and humbly take my leave, and commend your Worships to God's holy protection.

Your Worships' servant ever to be commanded,

Wm. Biddulph.

Addressed: To the Honourable and Right Worshipful the Governor, Deputy, and Committees of the Merchants of England trading for the East Indies dd. in London. Per Mr. Dodsworth in the Hope, whom God preserve.

Endorsed: Suratt, the 28th of February, 1614. Wm. Biddulph. Read in Court, 2nd December, 1615. Ext[racted].

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28th February 1614 [1615].

A CONSULTATION[1] held aboard the Gift, Admiral, concerning the disposing of the remainder of the stock here left ashore at Suratte in the custody of Mr. Thomas Aldworthe to be disposed by him for the Company's best use and benefit, viz.

Whereas by computation there is now left in money, lead, quicksilver and other commodities to the value of 10,000*l.* sterling in the hands of Mr. Thomas Aldworthe at Suratte, it is thought fitting by us whose names are hereunder written that present sale be made of the aforesaid goods to the most advantage as the time will now permit, and that the said Mr. Aldworthe make present repair to Amadvas and Sarques, there to invest the procedue of the aforesaid goods and moneys in the best sorts of indigoes of Sarques or Byana that may be had.

And if it shall happen that you shall find good store of indigoes to be had at reasonable prices, whereby to invest more moneys than you have, then we wish you to pass bills upon Mr. Edwards for such moneys as you shall have employment for, except Mr. Edwards can invest his moneys there in Byana indigo to a better reckoning.

Provided always that the indigoes you shall buy at Amadavas be sent down to Baroch before the coming of the rains and there remain in convenient places for their safety until the arrival of our ships.

For the keeping of your accounts we hold it fitting, according to the Company's order, that they be kept at Suratte, and all such accounts kept in any other places to have reference unto them.

For these people now left with you for the Company's service in these parts to be employed in Baroch and Amadavas, we wish you to have care over them that their carriage may be such as may tend to the credit and reputation of our country. And for that the chiefest part of business depends in these parts, we wish you to retain those you have now with you; as also if you shall

have cause to use more for the accomplishing of the business, we then think fit you write to Mr. Edwards to furnish you with them, which will be best for the avoiding and lessening the charge above.

So desiring God to add a blessing to all good endeavours tending to this business of ours and of all that may succeed us to God's glory and our employers' benefit.

Nich. Downton.
Tho. Aldworthe.
Thomas Elkington.
Edward Dodsworthe.

Endorsed: Consultation for the disposing of the stock in Suratt etc., at the going away of Capt. Downton from thence toward Bantam in October, 1614, being about 17,000*l.*[1]

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Nicholas Downton to Sir Thomas Smythe.
[28th of February 1614 (1615)].

HONOURABLE Sir, Time permits me not in any fit sort by writing to express my service and duty to you, for till this instant the Viceroy hath so beleaguered me and by daily expectation of new attempts hath both employed my powers and so deprived me of knowing what to write, lest I might have occasion to unwrite what in former conceit I might have written; but blessed be the Lord my God, who hath not withholden His accustomed mercies in maintaining the weak estate of His poor distressed servant. Sir, I diversely sensibly see that had not God fought for us and taken our cause on Himself to defend, we had been sore oppressed. Sir, I, long before foreseeing the likelihood of use to be made of them, forbore no charges (as you will find) to keep my people in hearty strength against the time of most need; yet had it pleased God

to have showed a frowning countenance to us in our action, I know not but am in doubt how my people would have proved. In the prosperous business we had I see them willing but not knowing what to do. I acknowledge your care in preparing ordnance, powder and shot; but no way like your choice of people to use them, which I wish you may better provide for time ensuing. Many things more are fit to be reformed, which I touch in my general letter. Sir, for Mr. Edwards I never see cause to like neither his carriage nor his husbandry, yet I conceited his pride to be such as to spur him on to work much at court, and that was the best construction that I could make when I consented to his going thither; but since his unfit and imperious carriage to his companions and his plotting for great and vainglorious expense puts me into an extraordinary doubt. I pray God it prove better. Mr. Dodsworth can inform you more at large, and partly you may perceive by what I tax him withal in my last letter to him at my coming away, which I send you herewith, bearing date the 1st of March,[1] as also the copy of the violent course he held with his companions at Suratte. Mr. Emsworth it pleased God soon after we came into this country to call him to His mercy; his carriage showed him to be a choice honest man, understanding well his trade without pride or prating. Timothy Wood died the same hour. John Crowther is gone with Richard Steel into Persia. Christopher Farwell I am fain to leave with Mr. Aldworth as a stay to govern the house while he is absent, for he is very honest, religious and of good carriage; otherwise I was loth to have spared him from our other business, for such are everywhere wanting. I have and always have had great content in Mr. Elkington; he understands his business well, is very sober and without pride. Mr. Dodsworth I made choice of to send in this ship[2] with Mr. Mullinux, hoping he will by his discretion be a good stay unto him; also for that he could best give you a reason for anything you desire to be informed of concerning your business in these parts; moreover for that I see him not to joy nor be in content since the death of Henry Smith. I made choice of the Hope to send home, partly for that I esteemed her the fittest to contain that quantity of goods we had to send (wherein we are somewhat deceived), but

also for the divers defects which the master and carpenter found in her as in danger to be eaten through, for that her sternpost is said to be unsheathed, as also the danger likely by the quantity of quicksilver spilt in her, and partly for that she goeth ill. I am not a little sorry for that it was so long before we could dispeed her, but partly by loitering delays of Mr. Edwards at Amadavas, and partly by the Portugalls' practices against us, we could not possibly do any more. And if we should give over this present time and keep her till the next season, then I make account that both ship and men will be much more disabled, the ship by worms and wearing, and the men by disordering of themselves in every place where we come, besides the charge increased to no small sum; for my people cannot complain of any want they have had or any unkind usage, yet I grieve to think how many are dead. Sir, in regard of the uncertainty of the time and the doubtful estate of business at Suratte by reason of the wars between the Moors and the Portugalls, I do not think it convenient to leave any great stock there neither this present year nor any other till the Portugalls grow weaker, or till these troubles are blown over between the Moors and them; for Suratte is but weakly fenced if it should be valiantly assaulted.

[If the advice I shall receive at Bantam give me encouragement to go for Japan, the time of stay there will be so long before I can proceed, which puts me in fear that that vile place will much consume my people.][1]

Sir, I send you by Mr. Dodsworth a poor present of a carpet and a quilt, neither the one nor other to my mind nor as I thought, but seemeth such as could be had at Amadavaz, and I entreat your patience till I can better provide. I have also sent you a couple of antelopes, male and female;[2] I wish they may come in safety to you.

Sir, being shorted of time necessary enforceth me to desire your patience and refer you to my general letter, as also for advice to letters of other men, which as I think have had more leisure; desiring God to grant health to your person and content to your mind, and so with true affection I commend you and yours to the blessed protection of the Almighty, wishing

for all I have written your favourable censure and honourable constructions.

Sir, if you think fit I wish and think it needful, since we must work out our trade at Suratte per force withstanding the force of the Portugals, that you employ in principal command in your voyages such as well understand martial businesses and that may be nimble in understanding how to make benefit or take the best advantage of every occasion happening. Also Mr. Edwards' proceedings in waste of provisions makes me put in a caveat concerning who shall dispose of the spending the victuals in your inferior ships, the cape merchant who goeth out to be left in the country and sees[1]

Endorsed: From Nich. Downton to Sir Thomas Smithe, Feb. 28, 1614.

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Some remembrances of my opinion for Mr. Aldworth to impart to all such principal commanders of the Indian Company's business as may in short time (before alteration) come hither, desiring him (or any in his place) to add all such things fit to bring to their remembrance which time or occasion will show, not only for the good of the Company (which all good men ought to aim at) but also for the credit and benefit of them which are in best places employed.

SIR, according to the advice of Thomas Kerridge from Court, I wish you give counsel to all principal commanders employed by our Company, that may at first or second season ensuing arrive here, that they make best construction of what the Nabob,[2] to their seeming, in toyish manner unfitly do; since he is driven thereto by the strict command of the King (whom he dare not offend) to let nothing pass unbought which may seem fit for his turn, in regard of which he is forced to restrain all other from buying; which since it cannot be holpen,

it must be for his part excused, wishing all my friends for the common good by all good endeavours and kind behaviour to give him all content with least prejudice that you may.

Also it will be no ill policy if we also endeavour by all good demeanour to creep into the good opinion of all sorts, both princes and common people, partly for that by our omission therein we give the Portugalls, our enemies, no advantage to scandalize us amongst these people, and partly that we strive to get the better hand of the Dutchmen when they shall come hither, which is like to be ere long.[1]

We are to consider withal and to bear in mind that if the Portugalls by any strong aid out of Spain should prevail over this country, or if they shall give any overthrow to our ships by sea, it will give them help and courage to revive both their minds and strength; and the minds of the people, which now respect and honour us, will soon fall off to make their best peace with the adversary, which will not be again recovered without great cost. Wherefore I wish (though the charge be great) that the ships of the next season be sufficient to defend themselves and the coast, which will again revive the spirits of these people and may strengthen the mind of the King not to make peace with the enemy. Therefore I am much in doubt how there can the next year a ship be spared from the rest to go to the coast of Persia, though otherwise you have cause and means so to do; unless at last it be thought fit by advice to winter there and depart from hence at latter end of December or in January, when the other ships shall depart, some to the southwards and one home; yet withal it is to be considered if you may lade your ship home and dispatch your business much sooner, I know not how if the enemy arm against this place, in regard of our people and stock remaining in the town and for future hopes by their favours if we assist them, our ships may not leave the place till the blow of the enemy's force be given, which if by good advice you know their present year's force can do no harm, you may with more assurance proceed in their journeys from hence the rather, which I leave to your better judgments as times offer occasion.

As you have seen the Nabob by the hand of one man to buy all the trifles amongst the common people of the ships, so you shall do well to remember to give advice that no man bring any of their things to land, which will procure great troubles and delays to the main business; and also that one at a time be appointed in every ship to sell the trifling commodities of the common people, for otherwise they will presently overthrow the price and value of all things, as I too late found by experience.

I wish you to have a religious care over the Indian Company's servants that are under your charge and let the evils of others formerly make you more circumspect to have careful eye over the manners and behaviours both of young and oldest; and if any be found by excessive drinking or otherwise like to prove a scandal to our nation, I wish you to use first sharp reprehensions and if that do not prevail then inflict punishments, and if that work not reformation, then by the first ship send him home with a writing showing the reasons thereof.

So, desiring God to add a blessing to all good endeavours tending to this business of ours and of all that may succeed us to God's glory and our employers' benefit, I rest

Your loving friend,

Nich. Downton.

In Swally Road,
March 1st, 1614 [1615].

Endorsed: Captain Downton's advice (as I take it), which he left with Mr. Aldworth or Mr. Edwards at his coming away from Surratt, anno 1614.

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This letter is preceded by copies of the two letters given under No. 194.[1]

John Sandcroft[2] to the East India Company.

Laus Deo in Swallie Road, aboard the Gift, the 1st March 1614 [1615].

RIGHT Worshipful Sir and Sirs, May it please you this above written is the copy of a letter sent your Worships by Mr. Steale, the copy whereof I thought good to send you here enclosed.

There hath been bought at Sirques and Amadavas 1273 churles of indigo all excellent good, whereof 8 churles is rich indigo, the rest Sirques; for the contents and prices I refer your Worships to the invoice sent you by Mr. Aldworth at Baroach. There was bought 88 churles of flat indigo, but the sorts have not seen; more 93 churles shipped by Mr. Aldworth, being the proceed of the Twelfth Voyage. At Amadavas Henerie Elmore and myself went divers times among the drugs, where we bought 13 fardles of sal-ammoniac, content maons 100, at 4¾ roopes per mand; other drugs we could find none worth the sending for England. We saw great store of opium, worth from 30 to 45 ropes per mand; spikenard worth 2¾ and 3 ropes per mand, but very old; we saw 4 bales of rhubarb, but very old, worth 30 ropes per mand; we saw divers other sorts of drugs but none that there is any good to be done in; but baftas, birams and chints great store, whereof Mr. Dodsworth bought some of either sort; for the particulars, refer your Worships to the particulars per invoice. At Baroach there was bought baftas and cotton yarn, and at Cambaia quilts, carpets, conserves, etc., to which refer your Worships to Mr. Aldworth his advice, who have wrote you at large. This is a goodly country and great store of goods to be had. Here may be laden yearly two great ships. Amadavas and Sirques will yield yearly 3000 churles of indigo (in circa), but not that sales that was expected, especially for cloth. Elephants' teeth, great quantity will vent, being worth 70 ma. per mand; lead worth 8½ mamodies per mand; swords worth 40 ma. per piece, but few sold. May

it please you to send excellent good swords; they will vent. The broadest are in best esteem and crooked and those that will bend; those which stand little worth. Quicksilver worth 280 mamodies per mand, five mamodies 3 pices less being a rial of eight. Turkey gold, as chekenes,[1] will go at 3 roopes per piece, and great quantity will vent. Baroach is the chief place in India for baftas and cotton yarn.

For the victory which it pleased God to give us against the Portingalls I refer your Worships to those that saw it; they can relate more than I can write. May it please you I have received here sixteen pounds, thirteen shillings and fourpence for the one-third part of my salary; the other two-thirds I humbly entreat may go in joint stock. Likewise I would humbly entreat your Worships, when it shall please God you make division to other adventurers, that I may have leave to take out by my assignee Mr. John Ball such moneys as shall be due unto me by reason of two hundred and sixty five pounds adventured in joint stock, and this shall be your Worships' discharge. I have taken money up at interest, therefore do humbly entreat your Worships that you would be pleased to grant my request. As for the thirty three pounds six shillings and eight pence, the two-thirds of my salary which is yearly adventured in joint stock, I refer your Worships to make payment of the proceed thereof to my said assignee John Ball or to keep still in your hands, as in your wisdoms you shall think fit.

And thus with remembrance of my humble duty I end, committing your Worships to the gracious protection of the Almighty.

Your Worships' obedient servant
in all duty to be commanded,
John Sandcrofte.

Addressed: To the Right Worshipful the Governor and Deputy and Committees of the East India Company dd. in London.

Endorsed: November 29th, 1614. John Sandcroft from Surratt. Extract [ed].

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Edmond Aspinall[1] to the East India Company.

Laus Deo in Swally Road, the first of March, 1614 [1615].

RIGHT Honourable and Right Worshipful, Referring the relation of our passage to others of far better judgment, I make bold to certify you of my own proceedings, who was in health all the voyage till the 27th of September and then it pleased God to visit me with sickness so that for the space of five weeks and more I was accounted in respect as a dead man; in which time our ships happily arrived in Swally Road, where our merchant [s] (except Mr. Harysonn and myself) was disposed upon and sent, some to one place, some to another. And I as aforesaid being in that taking was rather accounted fit for burial than for business; yet after many days it pleased God to restore me to my former health, so that I was able to go about; whereupon it pleased our General to send me to Surrat with some goods. So since that time I have been for the most part about the delivery of our goods from aboard, as also with going aboard again with other goods, which I have been and will be (God willing) ready to my power to do, or any service whatsoever I am commanded. In which small service there hath been nothing of importance done worthy the writing of but what is written by others of better place; yet, lest I should be altogether condemned in neglecting my duty in writing, I have made bold to write these few lines, knowing that for all proceedings here as well of the prices of goods sold as of goods bought, with the estate of the country, your Worships have far better advice than any way I can write of. I am appointed still to go along in the Gift, but where I shall remain as yet I know not; but wheresoever I shall be well content and what I want in experience I will learn to my power and what wants shall be fulfilled in willingness to go about any business I am appointed, or what shall be for your benefit, which shall always be my study.

Thus, trusting ere long to have more occasion to write at large, I humbly crave pardon and take my leave; and (as I am ever bound) pray to God to bless you with health, heart's content and prosperous success in all your affairs.

Your Honours' servant,

Edmond Aspinall.

Addressed: To the Honourable and Right Worshipful the Governor, Deputy and Committees of the Right Honourable Company of the East India Merchants dd. in London.

Endorsed: March the 1st, 1614. Edward (*sic*) Aspinall, Surratt. Read 2nd December, 1615. Of no moment for any note.

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Samuel Juxon[1] to Sir Thomas Smythe.

Laus Deo in Swalley Road, the second of March, 1614 [1615].

HONOURABLE Sir, My service in all dutiful and respective wise remembered, etc. I acknowledge myself obliged unto you for the gracious demonstration of your love in the acceptance of me into the service of the Right Honourable and Right Worshipful Company, for the which undeserved favour in what I am able I will be found grateful, viz. in soliciting the Almighty by continual prayer for your welfare in all your proceedings. I desire I may be excused for that I suppose I shall be found defective in the demonstrating of the occurrences passed in this our present voyage, or otherwise I am jealous that my rustical discourse should in no wise be answerable to him that writeth to least effect, or that the splendent and copious advice of others may darken and obscure my slender and insignificant methods. First, for the mathematical science, I acknowledge my imbecility such as in the best sufficiency that

I am able therein I can give the Right Honourable and Right Worshipful Company small or no content; wherefore I leave those marine discourses to the masters of your ships, presuming you shall so sufficiently by them understand every particular matter of consequence in this our present voyage passed, as that in the same they shall give the worthy Company full content and satisfaction. Secondarily, for merchandising causes, as I am not in place of eminency to understand every matter of consequence occurring, so by just reason cannot I acquaint, or with such facility in so full fraught manner stuff these few lines as I could wish with matter worthy your favourable censure and acceptance; therefore I desire your grave wisdom to weigh and consider the premises, and then peradventure I may pass with an acceptance answerable to my wished desire. For business here effected, I presume you shall sufficiently understand by our commanders. For myself I will endeavour to accomplish whatsoever business shall be committed to my charge to be prosecuted and effected, as that the performance thereof without question shall give you, with the Right Honourable and Right Worshipful Company, sufficient testimony to approve of my just and faithful performance. If that haply these my precedent lines shall be censured of as impertinent and too mean for this ripe and exquisite age, I desire you to consider that at the building of Solomon's Temple there was room as well for burthen-bearers as for other more curious artificers; whereupon I infer that although in matters of greatest consequence I am not, nor greatly at present desire to be, employed, yet notwithstanding in businesses of reasonable importance I suppose myself of sufficiency able to do the Right Honourable and Right Worshipful Company commendable service. But for me to begin to make relation of those businesses which I should not be sufficiently able to prosecute and close up were deservedly to be convinced of folly; therefore I refer the relation thereof to our commanders as aforesaid, by whom effectually and at large I am certain the Right Honourable and Right Worshipful Company shall be informed. Thus, desiring your pardon for my abrupt and rustical boldness herein, I humbly take my leave, with prayer for the continuance of your health, with prosperous and fortunate success to your peculiar or proper

affairs as to the Right Honourable and Right Worshipful Company's to and from these parts; committing you and all your proceedings to the guidance of the Almighty.

Your Honour's in all readiness to accomplish you
the uttermost of my best service,

Samuell Juxon.

Addressed: To the Honourable Knight Sir Thomas Smyth, Governor of the Right Honourable and Right Worshipful Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies these be dd. in London, per the good ship the Merchants' Hope of London, whom God preserve.

Endorsed: Samuel Juxon, 2nd March, 1614, from Surratt, by the Hope. Of no moment at all.

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Humphrey Elkington [1] to the East India Company.

Laus Deo in Swally Road, the 3rd of March, 1614[1615].

HONOURABLE and Right Worshipful, in all humble manner my duty remembered, praying to Almighty God for your healths and prosperity etc. May it please your Worships we arrived at the bar of Swally the 15th of October in safety, where at our coming our General sent Mr. Ball on shore in his pinnace with letters to Mr. Aldworth, who the next day came aboard of our General not a little joyful of our arrival. Here we remained till the 8th of November, at which time Mr. Edwards and the rest of our merchants went up to Surratt, where they remained till the 30th ditto, much hindered and restrained in their business by Mocrobe Chann his delays, the cause whereof I cannot so well inform you of, but I refer to our General and cape merchants, who I am assured herein will give you all satisfaction at large.

The first of December Mr. Edwards with such as were appointed to go along with him departed from Surratt for

Amadavar, the way we went being not without some danger of thieves, yet (God be thanked) we arrived there in safety the 13th ditto; at which place we remained till the 20th ditto, being all of us severally disposed of, some to remain at Amadavar with Mr. Aldworth and some to go along with Mr. Edwards for Agemere; Mr. Halmeden, Ric. Pitt and myself to go to Cambay, where we arrived in safety the 22nd ditto, for which God be thanked. As for the city Cambay, concerning the trade thereof, I am very sorry that it will not correspond to your Worships' expectations, for since the wars and enmity of the Portingales with this country people the trade thereof hath been so much diminished that it affordeth no commodities, in respect as in former times it did, during their league; so that the country people who were wont before to bring down all manner of commodities in abundance, as indigo, silks, stuffs, etc., they now bring down none at all to speak of, by reason whereof those toys that it doth afford are at an extraordinary rate; and I perceive that the Governor and chief brokers with all the rest of the people of that place are much addicted to the Portingalles and slightly esteem of our English; so that unless they were quite rooted out there is no hope of any good to be done there for us. As for these goods which are already bought there and the prices thereof, I refer you to Mr. Aldworth, as also to the invoice, and the proceedings of our whole voyage to the relation of our commanders, who I make no doubt but they will give your Worships herein full satisfaction. May it please your Worships to understand I have received at the hands of my brother, Mr. Thomas Elkington, in part of my year's salary, the sum of 15*l.*,[1] which is as much as I desire to receive here in the country, and for the remainder, viz. 35*l.*, my request unto your Worships is that it may be employed in the Joint Stock, as I made it known unto Mr. Sadler[2] when I received my freedom; it being uncertain whether it will be effectual or no, I thought it my best course to write unto your Worships, humbly requesting your Worships that you would herein accomplish my request.

Thus craving pardon for my abrupt boldness, with my hearty wishes and prayers unto Almighty God for the continuance and

increase of your Honours' and Worships' healths and prosperity, I humbly take my leave and rest

Your Honours' and Worships' servant
to be commanded,
Humphrey Elkington.

Addressed: To the Honourable Knight Sir Thomas Smith, Governor of the Merchants trading to the East Indias and to the Worshipful Committees of the said Company dd. in London. Per the Merchant's Hope, whom God preserve.

Endorsed: March the 3rd, 1614 [1615]. Humphrey Elkington from Surratt to the Governor and Company. Read, 2nd December, 1615.

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Edward Holmden[1] to Sir Thomas Smythe.

The 7th of March, 1614 [1615], aboard the Hector.

RIGHT Worshipful, my humble duty remembered. May it please you I make bold to trouble your Worship with some few lines of advice, although I make no question that your Worship wants any concerning this place from Mr. Aldwoorth and the rest of the principal merchants of what is needful; yet being willing to do my duty to your Worship and the rest of the Worshipful Company did embolden me to deliver unto your Worship the occurrences of this place. You shall understand that our ships arriving here the 15th of October, Mr. Thomas Aldwoorth being sent for did fully advise our General and the rest of the chief of the wars betwixt the Portingalls and the country people and that our nation were most desired of them here. Yet upon dispeeding of the goods for Surratt they were hindered by Mocrocan, upon his unreasonable demands to have had the ships to go against Daman; yet at the last the goods they thought fitting to land were had up and with much delays in the Custom house, as also their goods highly rated, which for the better despatch they were content to suffer and to give him content by showing some part of the present which went to the

Mogul, with other detaining of what he liked, which were too long to trouble your Worship withal, they got their goods cleared and presently made ready to go up into the country for the effecting of your Worships' designs, leaving some at Baroach for the providing of calicoes and cotton yarn, being also purposed to have left some at Brodero[1] for gumlac and other commodities as they thought would be fitting for England, but coming thither found it a place [not?] to require any to be left, there not being gumlac or other drugs, only a small quantity of opium and that not very good, and for their baftas better cloth and cheaper at Baroch; and so proceeded for Amadavas without leaving any, where coming they were very kindly entreated by the Governor, and for commodities found to be plenty. Yet as well to see what Cambaia might afford as also to get the indigo at a better rate, they did resolve to send three for Cambaia, who were Humphrey Elkington, Richard Pitt and myself, for which place we had our commission some 800 rupies in cottony quilts lined with taffaty and 800 rupies in carpets, and three or four ton of green ginger conserved, with a small matter of other conserves for trial; and for indigo, in regard there was such quantity and such good choice in Amadavas, we had no order to buy, but as we should find the place for that commodity to advise and to expect our order from Mr. Aldwoorth; which at our coming we did and saw many a good parcel of Serkese, for the round indigo it is there made and not good, being not of Agra nor Lahor, yet some there was, we buying of none, being better cheap at Amadavas. For the carpets at this time there was small choice and dear, which we did fully advise Mr. Aldwoorth of, and that in Smirna they were to be had as reasonable; notwithstanding it was his pleasure we should do our best, which we did, buying, as your Worship may perceive by the general invoice, fifty-nine, to say, six long at rupies 2½ per covedee, eleven of short with papers at the end of them, cost rupies 10 per piece, forty (some of them with silk tassels and the rest had been, but that we had not time, so were forced to put the tassels into the bale, which being set on by some tailor will much set them forth) at rupies 14 per carpet, and two without silk tassels at rupies 13 per carpet. And for cottony quilts, the time for trade was so dead that there was little

good cottonies in town, and the time so short to provide, being there was none ready made of that length and breadth, that they could not make them of any better work; so that we made but ten and they cost one with the other ru. 27, pice 76 per piece. For conserves of green ginger, as other conserves, there was little ready made and to have bespoke was not time of year and would not have proved good, as those that did preserve fully advised us of; so what we could meet with that was good we bought, to say two jars of green ginger, contents as per invoice, at rupies 3, pice 27 per maund, two jars of mirabolins[1] at ru. 3¼ per maund, two jars of manges[2] at rupees 4½ and one jar of byle[3] at ru. 5 per maund, the time nor place affording to effect better business, it being very much decayed since the wars, every man living upon what he hath, and all trade left off. For price of commodities in Cambaia, elephants' teeth worth rupies 675 the 4 kintals at 16 pice to the sere; lead at rupies 4½ per maund; quicksilver 115 ru. per maund; vermilion 21 ru. per maund. For your silk of China worth ru. 240 per maund at 16 pice the sere; nutmegs, ru. 12 per maund at 16 pice the sere; opium the best at ru. 38 the maund of 45 sere at 17 pice to the sere. And this is as much as I can advise your Worship concerning Cambaia. For Amadavas I think will be the best place in this country for making provision of indigo, the best sort of flat indigo being made within 3 course[4] of the city, which is about 4 miles ½, and there is also to be had round indigo of Agra and Lahor. For sales there, as in all the country it doth afford little for our commodities except elephants' teeth, quicksilver, lead, tin and vermilion which will vent, your elephants' teeth being in very great request at present. For the prices of these commodities at Surratt, I make no question but your Worship received particular advice from Mr. Aldwoorth, to which refer me. For drugs in any of these places the greatest store is at Amadavas but none good, only their opium and that new. For further advice in particularising of the sales of the Company's goods and investment, of that and of their moneys, I know your Worship shall have from the principal factors, to which refer me. Now desiring at your Worship's hands to stand my friend to the Company, neither do I desire more of your Worship than I hope I shall deserve, and as your Worship shall

hear both of my carriage at sea as also at my being ashore in the service of the Worshipful Company, which your Worship fully understanding, that it may please you to be so good unto me, who humbly craves it of your Worship and the rest of the Worshipful Company, for the increasing of my allowance, for which I shall rest bound to pray for your Worship all days of my life and by the help of Almighty God will do to the uttermost of my power to deserve it in my duty and service to your Worship and the rest of the Worshipful Company in their business. Thus not troubling your Worship any further, referring of my poor case and small means to the good consideration of your Worship, I humbly take my leave and rest

Your Worship's in all dutiful service to be commanded,

Edward Holmden.

Addressed: To the Honourable Sir Thomas Smith, Governor to the Worshipful Company trading to the East Indies, in London.

Endorsed: March the 7th, 1614 [1615.] Ed. Holmdman from. Surratt, advising of the buying of conserves and carpets in Cambaia. He craveth increase of his salary as he shall be found to deserve. By the Hope. Read, 2 December, 1615. Ext [racted].

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Timothy Mallory[1] to the East India Company.

Laus Deo from under sail aboard the New Year's Gift, the 8th day of March, 1614 [1615.]

RIGHT Worshipful, Not discoursing of our passage, but referring the relation thereof to others, who in more ample manner can declare, only touching such affairs and business as passed ashore till the ship's departure, who came to an anchor at the bar of Surrat the 14th of October 1614 and after four or five days sounding to find out the

Channel into Swally Road, where they rid till business were despatched. At our first arrival, for the space of ten days nothing was concluded of, because of the fast which was kept solemn that month called the Ramdam,[1] which is usually once a year; after which being ended, Hogenazan,[2] Governor of Surrat, came down to the shore side, to whom our General with the cape merchants did repair, to conclude such affairs as were thought most convenient for settling of trade, which was granted, promising safe conduct with our goods to and again, after which conclusion our General presented him those things appointed, and also with the present to be presented to Muccrobcan, but presently after Muccrobcan's mind being altered, he would grant no trade nor any peace with the English, except our General would besiege a castle at Damoon, which the Portingalls do inhabit; which he refusing to do, not to offer any violence except it first offered him, Muccrobcan being displeased made answer that he had dismissed the Portingals (and would not suffer them to trade) for our sakes, and would not he do so much for him, not only for him but for our own good; which in no wise our General would give consent, but rather would refuse the trade and made offer thereunto, but in a short time after, the space of ten or twelve days, (asking if we had any more toys to give him) he gave consent that we should have free trade without intermission, upon which Mr. Edwards and the rest did go up to Surrat the 1st of November 1614, carrying such goods as were to be sent for Agra, with the Mogul's present to be dispeeded thither. But to make despatch we found them very tedious in their business, for they would be almost a forenoon in searching of a private man's chest, and would despatch all trifling things before we could get the Mogul's present. Neither would he let them go without opening of them all; so that it was the last ditto before Mr. Edwards went up to Agra and Mr. Aldworth and the rest that were appointed did accompany him to Amadavar, and then everyone to their several place to prepare lading for a ship to England.

After they were all gone up that were appointed for the aforesaid provision then came the rest of the goods from aboard the ship that were to be left at Surrat, of which some were sold presently, as elephants' teeth, which were sold to one man for

70 ma. the maund; as for broadcloths, pictures, looking-glasses, except one chest with comb-cases and some sword-blades, were sent up to Agra, being of more value there than at Surrat, especially broadcloth, which is of little worth below, neither in respect of quantity that will sell (which is the chiefest for quick return of money) nor value that it will yield, for they will not give above 20 ma. the covedy, stammels with others, and then again a man may be in selling twenty cloths above two years, for which cause (except it vent better at Agra) it will not quit cost to send any into these parts. As for quicksilver, it will not yield that which heretofore it hath done, which lieth unsold as yet. Tin was almost gone through withal at 40 ma. the maund, but the party durst not stand to his word, which as yet lieth unsold. Of lead there is sold 10 pigs at 8 ma. $\frac{3}{4}$ the maund, the rest lieth by still. As for those sword-blades that were left below at Surrat, some few are sold of the best at 40 mamodyes the piece, which, if they had been good metal that they would not stand bent, very crooked withal, not near the point, broad and long withal, they will yield money at a good rate and quick return; but if they stand bent they are worth nothing, as many of these will do, which will not sell in a long time; but such trifles the mariners do bring such store that they do cloy the country people (for the present) with them at a cheap rate, so that except they be extraordinary good they are not worth the sending.

But to speak in general of the country itself, it is a place of good trade and divers good commodities to be had, especially indigo, of which there is plenty and good cheap, which if it were not for the Portingals (that do seek to suppress the English by all means) there might come two ships of reasonable burden and have loading there presently, if there were stock enough to provide aforehand. But seeing it is so dangerous, it is but ships cast away except there come a good strong fleet and well manned, which, for to guard one or two ships, will rise to a greater charge. For the Portingals came in with a great fleet of nine ships, whereof six were of a thousand ton or thereabouts, and the other three of 200 or 300 ton apiece, besides two galleys and about sixty or seventy sail of frigates, thinking to overcome the English; but God prevented them and turned their wicked intent and

purpose upon their own heads, for in their fight (which I leave to discourse the manner, referring it to the eye-witnesses) there were fired three of the Portingal ships of the smaller burden, which was no small discouragement to the rest; after which overthrow they sought by all means to fire us in the night time, which they put in practice presently after, but the Lord of His goodness prevented their malicious device; who seeing that nothing would prevail were forced to set sail and to be gone. And so with my humble duty to your Worships, desiring the Lord always to prosper your affairs, I rest

Your Worships' faithful and true servant,

Timothy Mallory.

Addressed: To the Right Worshipful the Governor, Deputy and Committees of the Right Honourable Company of the East India Merchants in London.

Endorsed: March the 8th, 1614 [1615]. Thymothy Malory from Surratt. To the Governor and Company. Of small import.

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Samuel Squire to Sir Thomas Smythe.

HONOURABLE Sir, To express my duty, hoping of your Worship's favourable perusing and acceptance, I give you to understand that the 7th March 1613 [1614] we set sail out of the Downs and directed our course with a favourable wind for the Lizard. The next day we passed by the Isle of Wight, and the 9th we put off from the Lizard and steered for the Grand Canarie, and the 25th we passed between it and Lancerote and sailed with a free wind till we came into the latitude of 2° 45′, where we met with the general S.E. and E.S.E. winds which doth always blow here on these times of the year and did rule with us for the most part

till we came into south latitude of 15° and then it veered to the northwards and grew more fair. The 19th of April 1614 we passed the equinoctial and coming into the latitude of 26° 30′ we met with the westerly winds, with which on the 15th of June we arrived in Souldanha, our first landfall being Conny Island,[1] which first did discover himself by his breach, the sea and winds being very high. The next night after our arrival, riding a storm, our boat split from our ship's stern and drove ashore and carried our small skiff away with her, both which before we could come to the knowledge of again was by the savages [2] so abused for the iron-work that they were the longer a-repairing. The savage [3] your Worships sent by us was put on land but we never saw him after, nor could get any refreshing of fresh victuals for our men during our abode here; which was a cause of our lesser stay. But before our departure the General sent me to discover the inland country and see for timber to mast our unbuilt pinnace, the which I found on the S.W. side of the Table [4] in abundance, either to build or mast small shipping. With this we supplied our wants in that kind; and our men being all in health, the 30th we departed. And when we came out, being becalmed, we had a strong current that set about the Cape Bona Spei to the N.N.W. after 8 leagues in 24 hours. The 4th of July after calms the wind came westerly, which put us about the Cape; the which having passed, we had a continual hindering current till we came 110 leagues past it, upon an E.S.E. $\frac{6}{11}$ S. course, the same setting to the S.W. at sometimes 16 leagues in 24 hours, after which we had contrary winds and storms for the most part till the ending of this month, at what time we drew near the Island of Madagasker, where we saw a sail, whom we should have spoken withal but they were too great a distance from us upon a course we could not fetch. The 6th of August we came into Augustin Bay where to refresh our men, to procure which the General sent me into the land, but it was long before I could gain speech with the people, for fear they had of us; but after speech they brought us down cattle, the which we bought for money, one great bullock for 7 shillings, but far better cheap for small silver chains to hang about their necks. Here in my travel I found many balsam trees, the sap or gum

of which I brought aboard and was known to our chirurgeons to be the same. And having wooded, watered, and procured some cattle, the 12th ditto we departed and the 18th we had shoaling on the shoals of Madasker,[1] being in the latitude of 17° 20′, between which and the latitude of [*blank*] we had the depths from 9 to 31 fathoms, the tide setting 12 hours to the northward and like time to the southward, both of like strength and indifferent strongly; but coming past the shoals we had it set altogether to the northwards. The 23rd day we had sight of the Island of Moyella and passed by it and Comora the 24th. From thence we steered for Secutra, having a current continually with us; and the 9th of September we arrived in Delisha Road, where the King came to us and used us very kindly. And having of him bought some aloes, and the monsone calling us away, the 14th in the morning we departed for India and came on the coast the second of October, our landfall being about Dabull. We were the longer on this journey in regard the easterly monsone came before we could recover the coast. Near it we met with a small ship of India whom desired our aid to conduct them for Surate, which our General granted, though it were to our hindrance, the sooner in regard she belonged to merchants of Surate whom the General desired to pleasure, whereby to win a good conceit of them. Till the 15th day we were forced to tide it up with contrary winds; at what time we came to Swaly, where coming, as one day followeth another, so every day did beget new effects; for one day we were promised that about our trade and re-edifying of the factory, which the next day could not be performed except we would go for Damon and fight with the Portugalls. But the General, being constant to follow his commission, denied it and sent for the goods from Surate to be gone, which the Nabab seeing consented unto him and then we began to discharge our goods, being about the prime of November; and 8 days after Mr. Edwards with his company of merchants went for Surate, where before he could despatch his business from thence to go to the King, grew to the last of this month, having many disturbances and hindrances by the Nabab, whom was not his nor our nation's friend, as I would he were, but always opposite unto them in all their proceedings. In this time it

pleased God to take to His mercy that worthy merchant and good servant of yours Mr. Emsworth, who died at Surate the 23rd ditto. Mr. Edwards in his travels through Baroch and Amadavar was kindly used and lovingly received by the Governors of those places, and the merchants dealt for goods, which is in the Hope, whom I trust in God will bring it safe into your hands. In the meantime that they were dealing about their merchandises the Viceroy, named Don Jeronimoe,[1] the 18th of January came with a powerful army containing 9 ships, 2 galleys and 58 frigates, and remaining not long without giving an assault, for the 20th they came fair by the sand. We likewise weighed from our usual road and went near the entering to [*torn away*] their incoming, and [the] General sent the Hope a distance from us to give an edge to their courage whereby to have some rash attempt practised by them; which fell out accordingly, for they gave the onset with three of their smaller ships and most of their frigates, laying her aboard and at the first very resolutely charged them, whom had their men in their tops either mortally wounded or slain, by what means her maintop fired and burnt down, but after the fight was quenched and the loss soon repaired. It was not long after they had boarded her before we went to her rescue and the enemy likewise charged on us with the rest of their force, coming so near the sand as they could or at least they would; but the three that were aboard the Hope we put to great loss, and made those that were living in the ships to forsake them and enter their frigates for quicker speed to be gone. But their haste was to their ruing and their speed their overthrow, for we let fly at them with our great ordnance and small shot, so that by them many of their frigates were sunk and their inhabitants lost their lives. Till sun-set we continually battered one against the other. In the meantime the enemy's ships were cleared from the Hope, being on fire. In this fight there were five men slain and divers wounded, which number (thanks be to God) was far inferior to the enemy's loss, for we had certain notice by Hogee San Alee,[2] Sabinder of Surat, how that they had carried to Damon to be buried 360, besides divers that we saw daily floating on the water and lying on the sand. After this we found them quiet and I think doubtful of our going out to charge them and therefore

sent to Diue for more force, being 2 ships, 2 junks and divers boats, which we understood were to fire; but we, putting our trust and success to God and our best endeavours, did always abandon fear and with a stout courage did look to see the event; which the 9th of February at 10 o'clock at night they practised with two fires in several boats, one of which did drive thwart the Hope's halse and there was fired, but with help of our boats it was soon cleared without doing any harm, thanks be to God. The next night at the same time they exercised the like with two very dangerous fires. The first contained two boats and the next four, which were all chained together, fired, and let drive amongst us; but putting our ships under sail we cleared us of them, which drive ashore and there burnt out. Our pinnace being about the fire took the boat and firers of these stratagems, being four Portugals, and brought them to the General, whom caused them all to be put in irons. Thus it pleased God to deliver the instruments and meant actors of our tragedies into our hands to suffer punishments according to their fact, a type and draft of which with the manner of our fight I have drawn and delivered to the General to send home unto your Worships, the which I beseech you to accept of.[1] The next day, they seeing their force and stratagems take no better effect, being out of heart to tarry a longer in this place, went with his fleet to the bar, and not long after went from thence to the southwards, as we deemed to draw us to security and when we thought least of them to charge us with fire and so endanger us; but their being out of sight did not secure[2] us so but that we were always jealous of them, whom came not, but our goods came down, with which we laded the Hope for England; which ship being laden, the 2nd of March we set sail from Swaly and that night came to the bar of Suratt, where we anchored till [next?] day noon and then weighed, standing to the southward till next morning, at what time we were thwart Damon, where we espied the Portugall fleet at anchor, whom presently weighed and chased us and we followed our course till the 6th ditto when we struck our topsails to go astern our fleet, the which the enemy seeing, thinking we had done it to have stayed for them, and they clapt close by a wind and stood into the shore from us, whom we never saw [again?].

Thus, having nothing else to trouble your Worship withal, I cease from writing, but will never cease praying to God for your healths and welfare.

From the sea, the 9th of March, 1614 [1615].

Your servant ever to be commanded,

Samuell Squier.

Addressed: To the Honourable and Worthy Knight, Sir Thomas Smith, Governor of the East India Company, deliver this in London. Per a friend, whom God preserve.

Endorsed: March the 9th, 1614 [1615]. Samyvell Squyre from Suratt. Read in Court, 2nd December, 1615. Extra [cted].

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Raphe Preston[1] to Sir Thomas Smythe.[2]

Laus Deo at sea, to the southward of Dabull, the 9th of March, 1614 [1615].

HONOURABLE Sir, My duty premised, etc. My last was from Amadavas overland by the way of Peartia, wherein according to my employment advised as the state of the country stood at that time.

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The most part of those indigoes sent home in this ship the Hope were bought at Sirques by Mr. Aldworth and Mr. Dodsworth; myself being there saw most of it upon heaps, so that I can a little speak of the goodness thereof, not doubting but both that partido and that bought at Amadavar is as good as ever came into England for that sort and for the rest I hope will give content. And for the prices it hath not been known better cheap in many years before, being told by such as knew very well that the Portingalls used to pay 18 and 19 rupies the maund, and none of this cost above 14 and much under 12; all

which I hope will be to content, God sending it well home. In regard that they have had no vent for it these three years brought the price so low, and grew by reason that they and the Portingalls have been at difference; otherwise it would have kept his price. Hereafter am of opinion that we shall have it dearer and less store as in former time; yet not to be doubted but that there will be sufficient every year to lade home one ship, besides that which shall come from Lahoare; being told by some of the principal men of the town of Serques that in Serques and about it there may be made every year upon the point of 2,500 churles; and now at our coming away we might have bought 500 churles more than we have, I mean there and at Amadavars, but in regard time prevented us was constrained to leave it behind us. And whereas in my former by the way of Pertia I wrote of two ships which were to be laden, which was determined of at first in regard of the quantity, but as I said before was prevented by the time, which Mr. Aldworth etc. perceiving aimed to lade the Hector, which he could have done had we stayed but three days longer and that carts could have been got to have brought it down.

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No question for the moneys there may be some course taken that the people of Amadavars may receive it by exchange for their indigo, or some other course may be taken. And for the forces of the Portingalls hereafter, I have heard (?) that there are places of more safety than Swalley Road, yet, if our ships be first there, of great advantage and no great fear but of their stratagems of fire. But, as I said, there are other places offered by the King; if not, our forces must be the stronger. And whereas at the first many disgusts were offered by Mocrocawne and were jealous of him, I think now will prove an honest man; for nothing passed in the plotting of evils against us by the Portingalls but he gave first notice thereof to the General, and in the end came aboard to see him, where he was very liberal to the company.[1] And for the detractions at our first coming, it is but the custom of the country and in all passages out and into the Mogull's country the like hath been and is still used. Mocrobocan, being fantastical, fears that toys will be brought which shall not come to his

hands, and so, if others should present them to the King, he thinks will be his disgrace, for he reigns by favour. And for us in a word to be discouraged for the usage of one man, having the King and other greater than he to friend, were in my judgment not to be well advised. Were I to have stayed here, my mind gave me that I should have given him content; for all his mind runs upon toys, as dogs, etc. And now, speaking of dogs, all that we brought with us died save one which was in our ship the Hope, which likewise would have died at sea or been hanged at Amedevar, had not I been, for that he began to be curst[1] and to bite many. I was forced to allege that he was no friend to the Company which would have him hanged, knowing that he would be better esteemed than any present which was sent; and so in all places of these heathen countries. Also fine light coaches covered with velvet, clocks with chimes in them, fine crooked sword blades and such like things will give content.

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Your servant ever to be commanded,
Raphe Preston.

No address or endorsement.

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John Oxwick to [ ][2].

WORSHIPFUL Sir, My service remembered. May it please you that the 14th day of October anno 1614 we arrived in the road of Saually in safety; God make us thankful for His great goodness shewed towards us in keeping us from sickness and with so little loss of men, for betwixt England and this road we had not above six men which died, being men of no note but foremast men. Since our coming out of England there was never men had better content both in health and sickness, so as they wanted nothing that was fitting to supply their wants, and yet all things within compass of reason, so as I have heard the common men say: God grant

them never other than a merchant commander for these parts. I cannot omit but write somewhat as concerning our commander in the Hector, viz. Mr. Wm. Edwards, who in the whole proceed (?) of this voyage he hath carried himself very well amongst us all and managed the business so as he was both feared and loved. All the whole voyage we had as little discontents amongst our company as in any ship in the fleet; and also for the husbanding of the victuals it was his chiefest care, whereby nothing should be wastefully spent, and yet with reason satisfied all men too. Truly to conclude he did carry himself with a great discretion and good government in all his actions. Thus much I know of him, being I lay in the same cabin with him all the while he was with us aboard. Also for Mr. Nicholas Ensworth aboard the Merchant's Hope, and Mr. Thomas Elkington aboard the Solomon, I have heard no less of them: but for Mr. Edwardes I am and was an eye-witness of all that passed. Sir, I could brief out my journal I have kept of all the proceedings that passed in our voyage; but I do hold it needless and besides it were too tedious to write your Worship of this business, being nothing worthy of your view, but I do entreat your patience till my next, which shall be from the place of my residence. As yet I know not where my place of abode shall be. If we have trade for Japon, then I desire your Worship earnestly you will stand my friend to speak to Sir Thomas[1] and company that I may go in the next ships which go thither. From Bantam I would willingly be removed and not have my residence there; if not to Japon, then to go for Cormandell. Sir, I do humbly entreat your Worship to procure me a letter to this effect that if I shall be at Bantam (which as yet I know not certainly) then I may be appointed to go in the next ships which are to come, that are to go for either of those places abovesaid. I will write of my success [*torn away*] and place of residence by the first that goes after I do certainly know. Our General is truly a worthy gentleman and a good soldier, having resolution enough (as the Portingalls have found) yet nothing at all understands merchandising causes but is and hath been wholly ruled by them that were of his council.

Now to write your Worship of entertainment the Viceroy gave

us at our coming ashore. It was very harsh; for some of our merchants that went up to Surrat, he detained them two days and would not permit them to return but at his pleasure, and thus he did two or three times, one while telling us we should have trade, and then, within a day or two, we should have none at all. This continued the space of ten days and then we resolved to land our goods, which we put into the Custom-house and there kept them three weeks before they would despatch them, and yet tendering their customs divers times before and they put us off with delays; and what was the reason hereof or the Viceroy's designs we know not, but supposed he had dispeeded one to the King and would do nothing till he had heard from his master the Gran Magoll. This month or five weeks we did just nothing, which was a great hindrance unto the main point of our business. At last he did permit us to go into the country to buy our goods and did clear all our goods out of the custom-house, but rated them to their own contents, taking where they list at their pleasure and all along of this Viceroy. But it is thought the king will send for him up to the court and place another in his room. It may please you that the first factor that was sent from Surrat to buy goods in the country by our General and the rest of his council appointed was myself, to be at a town called Baroch, where there is great store of white calicoes made and divers sorts of other calico cloth made that is made of purpose, as for Priaman, Tecoe and the Red Sea; also that place affordeth cotton yarn and indigo, but not of the best. In this town they have dyers which doth dye you divers colours of all these goods I have bought of. The greatest quantity of goods this town doth sell is calicoes and cotton yarn. I did lay out here whilst I was resident in these commodities abovementioned near upon 3,000*l.* I was three months [*some few words torn away*] doing this business, and here I also despatched all their goods which came from Amadavar and Cambaya. The custom due unto this town of Baroch I cleared and so passed them over the river that they were to go over before they could get aboard.[1] Here was I as well used in the custom-house and with the Governor of the town as I would wish to desire; and were at Surrat if that Viceroy were removed which is there. I had sent

the copy of my account now to the Company but it was answered by Mr. Edward Dodsworth that it did not belong to me but unto Mr. Aldworthe, the cape merchant of these parts. This Mr. Dodsworth now is returned in the ship homeward bound. God send her safe to arrive.

In the general invoice there it doth appear the goods which I bought at Baroch but more than half the goods we do carry with us for Priaman and to sell there as goods holden vendible for those parts. Sir, it please you that we have had some troubles with the Portingals; the relation thereof I do refer your Worship to this bearer Mr. Dodsworth. The Viceroy of Portingall was in the fleet, who came to Sually Road with 9 ships and 60 frigates. The first attempt they gave was by boarding the Hope with three of their ships, which were put off with great loss of men on the Portingalls' side. Then they perceived they could not work their wills that way. After went about to fire our ships with their frigates chained together to come athwart us, all which would not avail them nothing, for the same God which did guide us thither did protect us out of their villainous hands, which God give us grace to be thankful for this His great blessing bestowed on us. Sir, I have sent you by Mr. Molleneux, master of the Merchants' Hope, a quilt that I caused to be made for you at Cambaya and cost 6*l.* 10*s.* Here for carpets or anything else your remembrance mentioned was not where I was to be had. I would have sent you more of them but I could not get them made in time, and the sale quilts are not worth sending home. The carpets at Cambaya are not two yards long, also very narrow. Your velvet is yet unsold and most of your knives. Pray tell Mrs. Joan and her sister that I will send them their return all by one of these ships without fail; in the meantime I do desire their patience and I doubt [not ?] but to give them content according as I there did promise them, and so I do remember my service unto them. Praying God to send you and them health with long happiness in this world, I do humbly take leave and commit you to God.

From aboard the Hector, this 9th March, 1614 [1615].

Your Worship's to command,

John Oxwicke.

Sir, I pray remember my suit in this. For your letters I will, God willing, send them to Bantam or deliver them with my own hands.

Sir, I have sent you in the Hope an Antelope; the charge thereof I have delivered to Mr. Molleneux. Also I have sent in the same ship another antelope to Sir Thomas Smith, the which are things very rare in these parts, for they are not common here. I had three given me by the Governor in Baroche which be very fair ones. I think truly as yet none hath been carried home for England. The third antelope I gave to our General here, who I think hath sent it home also to Sir Thomas.[1] I pray, Sir, remember my duty to Sir Duddly Diggs.[2] And so I pray God to keep you and him in health.

Your Worship's to command,

John Oxwicke.

No address or endorsement.

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A Commission granted by me, David Midelton, General, by virtue of my authority from the King's Majesty, for the better direction of John Millworth, principal, and Wm. Nicolls his second, bound forth by God's grace in the good ship called the Thomas, whereof Richard Rowe is master, under God, to sundry ports upon the Island of Sumatra. Whom God prosper.[3]

Forasmuch as the Honourable Company of Merchants Traders to the East Indies have obtained letters patent from the King's Majesty to travel into these eastern parts of the world and thereby disannulled all and every other his subjects upon pain of forfeiture both of ship or ships and goods as shall be so employed,[4] so likewise the Honourable Company aforesaid have had an especial care and respective regard to make choice of selected persons to undergo so weighty affairs that no scandal may redound to our nation but that love and amity may be increased between his Majesty and all Kings and Princes or other person

in authority fit for so great a prince to have commerce withal; and for the better encouragement of the same Honourable Company to proceed in these their voyages the King's Majesty hath been further pleased to grant his letters patent to all Generals by them employed to bridle all and every his subjects of what degree soever they be under their command, and to chastise or if occasion be to put in use the law called martial law: by virtue of which his Majesty's authority granted unto me[1] I do give full power and authority to punish all misdemeanours of persons committed to your charge, and to observe and keep these instructions following:

1. First, above all men living under the sun we that be travellers by sea be much bound unto Almighty God, who see His wonders in the deep and in a moment is able to turn the vessels wherein we live upon our heads and call us to account for our forepassed life, if in His mercy He did not look favourably upon us. Therefore it behoves you principally to have respect that prayers be read morning and evening both ashore and aboard, and that none be wanting unless sickness be occasion, that you may jointly pray to the Almighty for a blessing upon you and upon your proceedings.

2. Item, Forasmuch as it hath pleased the Honourable Company to join all their affairs and bring it into one Joint Stock and have ordained that all their factories shall give accounts of all their proceedings to the agent or principal of the factory at Bantam, I do therefore hereby expressly charge and command all persons receiving pay of the Joint Stock, be they merchants or men of what degree soever, that be divided from Bantam that they do send just and true accounts from time to time by every ship or other fit conveyance of all their proceedings unto the said agent or principal of the factory at Bantam. And furthermore being required by letters from the said agent to come to Bantam to give a reason for anything you have done and effected, that they presently with all speed set their affairs in order and repair unto Bantam there to answer to all matters by them done and refer themselves further to be disposed of by the foresaid Agent and his council, without any contradiction to what they shall determine of.

3. Item, Forasmuch also that you John Millworth with your second Wm. Nicolls are altogether unacquainted with marine causes and that the Company have had a true trial of Richard Rowe, the master of your ship, both of his sufficiency and good government of his company in seafaring causes, my will is that he have the command of those persons that belong to the sailing of the ship, and that you trouble not yourselves with any such business but follow the Company's affairs committed to your charge; and that neither he nor you do inflict any punishment upon any person either on shipboard or on shore but by a council, that the truth of the cause may be debated before you, and as you shall see occasion so to inflict the punishment, and both the offence and punishment to be registered.

4. Item, That forasmuch likewise that you the merchants shall have occasion at sundry times both of the use of the boat and company to give their attendance for the conveying of goods aboard, and likewise in bringing goods ashore, I expressly charge and command that you Richard Rowe, master, together with the rest of your company give your due attendance with all diligence for the performance of the same, and as occasion shall serve, the ship to ply to other ports as by council shall be thought fitting for the Company's good and the benefit of succeeding voyages.

5. And as you have a great parcel of cloth which you are informed will vent in no place but in the Island of Sumatra, it behoveth you to have respective regard to convert it into gold, the coin current upon Sumatra,[1] or other vendible commodities, either for England or for the other parts of the Indies; especially to buy all pepper that may be gotten in truck or otherwise, having a care that you do not raise the price. But if your sales be not to your content and that you shall be forced to disperse your commodities to those ports as you shall be informed of, then you are to settle factories and to leave such competency of persons as may defray the charge; provided that the persons and commodities be in security, which may be in some suspense till the privileges be granted from the King of Achein, which Captain Dounton hath in especial charge to effect. And if it do happen that General Dounton hath not been there arrived nor none of his fleet, then have you the market in your own hands and no

doubt may utter much of the commodities you carry. But if either himself or any of his fleet have been there and that you do meet together, that then you confer together of all your proceedings and that you agree together, that there be no division amongst you as have been in former voyages, but as all servants to so honourable a Company you do your best endeavours to put off the commodities from your hands as in your discretion shall be thought reasonable for the venting of so great a quantity, and not to strive one with the other to the prejudice of the trade, as the Company have had a true taste of heretofore; always having respect not to make known the secrets of your trade to any, but by council to determine of all business and in your discretions to alter anything that may redound to the Company's good.

6. And as touching the ports you are first to go unto: you are first to ply unto Tecoo (Tiku), a place well known to your master, and there to procure all the pepper that may be which is usually brought from Parsama[1] and Pryaman and other places. And further it is thought fit that you leave there some merchant with some quantity of goods to buy pepper, and in the meantime your ship to go to Cotatinga, where you shall vent most of your goods for gold, always having a care that you give not credit to any man but make your sales for present payment, for the Honourable Company hath formerly received great loss in that nature when the parties break or fly, whereby the debt is lost.

7. But forasmuch as we be all mortal and in God's hands, if it should please God to take you John Millworth out of this life (which God forbid) that then William Nicolls, your second, shall succeed you in your place for merchandising causes, and if it should also please God to take you William Nicolls out of this life, then John Yeates,[2] late purser and now merchant with you, to succeed you in place. But if it should further please God to take you John Yeates out of this life, that in no hand you permit John Parsonns,[3] merchant and linguist with you for this voyage, to have the managing of the Company's affairs, in respect of his forgetfulness, which is such as he will both wrong the Company and himself; but that you Mr. Richard Rowe take all the goods and return to Bantam, if there be not some other fit man to manage the affairs. And in case the same Richard Rowe do

depart this life, that then you John Millworth or your successor do by council establish the fittest of your master's mates that shall be approved to be of best government to take that charge upon him and make a reference to the Honourable Company to give content to all men in any nature removed. And you Richard Rowe, master, in any case neglect not the time but with vigilancy you repair to Bantam with your ship either in whole or in part laden before the easterly monzon do blow, and that the factors by books or letters make manifest to the Agent at Bantam of all their proceedings both of [sales?] and remains, that, if occasion be, there may be a supply both of [money?] and goods. The westerly[1] monzone beginneth in the end of September; therefore your stay must not be with your ship longer than the 15th of September, unless you be advised to the contrary by the agent of the House at Bantam, but repair hither to be disposed of as the agent shall see cause with council, either to take in your lading here and so return for England, or to dispose otherwise of her.

And you John Millworth, chief merchant, are to give especial charge both aboard and ashore that no gaming be permitted, for the avoiding of further inconvenience, but that the parties so offending be punished as the offence deserveth; and that you determine all matters by council, as well merchandising as otherwise, calling unto your council your second William Nicolls, John Yeates, Richard Rowe, Abram Bonde, purser, and John Parsons or such other fit party that shall be thought fitting for such affairs. And for marine causes yourself with the master and all the mates to consult about such affairs. And all your several councils to be registered by some one of the council that all your projects may remain in record. And so God bless you and prosper your voyage.

David Midelton.

Dated the 12th day of March, anno 1614 [1615].

Endorsed: The copy of our commission from David Midelton, General, dated the 12th of March, 1614 [1615].

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Richard Welden [1] to Captain Ball [2] of the Concord.

[*No date.*]

KIND Mr. Bale, Since suspicion and force makes me to be absent from you, yet (in respect of the great affection and many favours which I have received from you) nothing shall keep me from writing unto you, to give you to understand of such things as passeth here in the castle; which though it be not much or worth the writing, yet it is my part and duty to write. It is very unkindly taken that you sent away your pinnace, and offered to go yourself, without making it first known to the General; but it was worse taken when you had your anchors up and so hastily to let them fall again, which was as much to say (as they interpret it) that you come here to jest with them or to make fools of them. Yet it is true that you may live here so long as you please and go when you will, and so long as you go not by the Bandanezen they will be the best friends with you in the world; but to the contrary if you go to the other side or trade at any of these Banda Islands for spice, the worst. As for my part you know better what you have to do than my simplicity is able to instruct you; therefore I leave these things to your own discretion. If you have what instructions for me, I shall kindly receive them. And thus having no other news I end, resting bound in all true affection unto you for the great love that I have received from you, hoping and endeavouring myself that it shall so continue.

Your assured friend to command,
Richard Welden.

I have sent you forty rials of eight to entreat you, if you can spare them, to let me have ten more rose-nobles; [3] if not, as you please, for it is for a friend, which doth very much desire it. I pray you to commend me to the master, with all the rest of our friends in general. Vale.

This ship as came yesterday is the Hope come from Ternata and there is in her Mr. Scot, [4] who would be very glad to see you.

As I was about to send my prow unto you, here came Abraham Vanderbrook[1] unto me, entreating me to send you this brief, which being unsealed I opened, and seeing no other than his name to it, I took it, have sent it to you; but what it concerns God knows.

Endorsed: To Mr. Bale, Captain of the good ship called the Concorde.

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John Oxwick to [Captain Downton?][2].

WORSHIPFUL Sir, My service unto you remembered, with desire to God for your health and a prosperous success in all your actions etc.

Sir, understanding that you purposeth to go for Bantam, intending your voyage, with good help, for the Isles of Japon, if that your Worship shall find encouragement there to proceed: in which proceeding, if it may stand with your good liking, I would be glad to hazard my fortune with you either thither or wheresoever you do go to seek trade; and in the granting of this my humble suit I shall think myself much bound unto your Worship for the same. If not so happy as to have my preferment in your voyage that way, then that your Worship would be pleased I may be one of those merchants which goes for the coast of Cormandell, if there be any trade that way. So no further at present to enlarge, but thus much I thought good to write your Worship, being uncertain whether your leisure would permit me so much time of conference, I humbly take my leave, referring this my desire unto your Worship's wisdom and better consideration. From aboard the Hector, this present 19th day of March, 1614 [1615].

Your Worship's at command,
John Oxwicke.

Sir, if there should be any cause or default in me, that hath removed

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Thomas Keridge to the East India Company.

Laus Deo. In Agemere the 20th of March, 1614 [1615].

HONOURABLE, Right Worshipful etc. My humble duty being remembered, these may be to signify unto your Worships that the 20th of September last I wrote unto your Worships[1] and sent it unto Mr. Aldworth at Suratt to have been conveyed per way of Muselepatan, but your ships coming in the interim he reserved them for other conveyance. The 20th of January I wrote other letters[2] and sent them unto him to be conveyed upon the ships, who adviseth me that they are sent home with the formers upon the Hope by Mr. Edward Dodsworthe, so I hope they shall be received long before this can come unto you, whereunto for the past I refer me.

And now, your Worships may be pleased to understand that the 2nd of February Mr. Wm. Edwards and his company came hither to the court, the King being then on hunting, before whose coming I made the best means I could with Aseph Chan, the King's brother-in-law, and other nobles for his gracious entertainment, this Aseph Chan being at present a chief favourite of the King's by means of his sister, the best beloved Queen, with whom I made way, he being most fit, to present the lieger and prosecute our business,[3] which he always gave me great assurance should be well performed. The King being near we had continual recourse to the said Aseph Chan, who upon knowledge of Mr. Edwards his coming appointed a house for his entertainment, and the 7th ditto we were called to the court, where our King's letter was delivered unto the Great Mogul and with much show of affection by him received. The present also was delivered in the name of our King, which he received with much content, viz., the King, the Queen, and the Lady Elizabeth[4] their pictures, with the rich cloak, the best case of bottles, a fair looking-glass, and a case of knives. The pictures the King liked exceedingly for the workmanship,[5] but much more for that they were our King's. The cloak also pleased him much, not having

seen such work before. He demanded many questions concerning our King, of his age, his ancestors, his children etc.; reiterating many times he stood greatly affected unto him, promising to answer his letter and to send him his picture with a present, wishing Mr. Edwards to bethink himself what might be fit for that purpose, with very many affectionate speeches and promises; whereunto he was by much the more induced for that the very night before he had received letters from Macrob Chan of a fight lately happened at Sualy between your Worships' ships and the Portingal Armado, in which fight the Portingals had three of their ships burnt and certain frigates sunk by one of yours, the Hope; whereof the King had such sound information that he much applauded our people's resolution, saying his country was before them, to do therein whatsoever ourselves desired, speaking very despitefully and reproachfully of the Portingals etc. The 9th dicto the King returned to Agemere, where Mr. Edwards presented the aforesaid Aseph Chan with a scarlet cloak, three pictures and some other things; and unto the favoured queen he presented a perfumed bag embroidered, a cabinet with a looking-glass and some other toys; and lastly he presented Mahobett Chan,[1] the King's greatest minion and of longest continuance, of greatest power and liberty of all the nobility. His present was the second case of bottles, one picture, a looking-glass, etc. This man being honourable sent him 1,000 rupees for a banquet in answer of his present, promising his assistance in favourable manner on all occasions; and two nights after, Mr. Edwards presenting a small picture unto the King, at the motion of the aforesaid favourites the King commanded 3,000 rupees to be given unto him towards his expenses. In this time Mr. Edwards, following the occasion, required an answer to our King's letter, which by us was translated into the Portuguese and by an Armenian of Aseph Chan's translated into the Persian; but he, disliking the style, altered the manner of it clean, adding to his own King's greatness, yet careful in reserving the substance of the matter, though in another form, nothing derogating from the greatness of our King. The King was well pleased with the tenor of it and commanded that an answer should be written, which in regard of a hunting journey then undertaken, and all

men's extraordinary occasions against this time of their Noroose,[1] which is an annual feast of 20 days continuance kept by the Moors with great solemnity, it was something delayed and troublesome to attain; yet the 14th of this present it was delivered,[2] written in such form as the King useth to write unto the King of Persia (his equal), the seal put loose therein; which is the custom, for if it were on the top it showeth superiority, if underneath inferiority, but being loose equality. The seal is set in ink, having therein eight several names in signets and himself the ninth placed in the midst, deriving himself from Tamberlayne, the first of the nine.[3] With this letter we received a firmaen written to the Governors of Suratt and Cambaya, confirming the King's allowance of our trade and his acceptance of us into his country, the copies of both which, as also the translation of this King's letter in the English, Mr. Edwards hath sent your Worships, whereunto I refer you.

There were brought up hither 20 bales of cloth, which are sold, two bluish colours only excepted, that colour not liked. The rest sold at ten rupees per covado, whereof about 4 per cent. is abated for desturyes,[4] which is a custom. In the measure is gotten, one with another, about 11 per cent, their covado being some four inches shorter than our yard; at which rate it should be 12 per cent., but some of the cloths come short of the measure they should contain. And now here is come from Suratt 16 bales more, few do inquire of them; whereby we see that, notwithstanding these people's earnestness for that commodity when there is scarcity, yet a small quantity gluts them. And so we find them in all other things desirous of novelties, which when they see, they still desire what we have not. The first 20 bales were well sorted for colours, but some of them very coarse cloths; the 16 bales now come up are ill sorted, having few stammels or reds amongst them, whereas it is requisite that more than one half of the cloth you send be stammels and Venice reds. The next colours in request are popinjay and grass greens, and then yellows of a good colour; of all other colours a very few will serve; horseflesh colours they esteem not. In my last I wrote your Worships that in my opinion 400 cloths would yearly vent, which the earnestness of this people for it and the great quantity

here spent induced me unto, yet now I fear a smaller quantity will satisfy them; for Mr. Aldworth writeth they have sold very little or none at Suratt, and Mr. Edwards journeying up sold not any. I know not what may be the reason, for at the coming of the Dragon[1] they were so earnest for them in Suratt that all men thought 1,000 cloths would have been sold speedily, and ever since my coming hither inquiry hath been made for them, which now being come they are soon satisfied, notwithstanding all which hath been sold was only to the King and some three or four of the nobility and as yet little inquiry by others. Howbeit I hope that those here will sell before any other come. And now I shall entreat your Worships' favourable construction though I alter my opinion in the aforesaid number and wish rather that less quantities do come, that they be not glutted therewith. I hope that 200 or 250 cloths will sell to good content provided that there be especial care had both in the goodness of cloth and colour. There is no further experience of the certainty of this than advised, wherefore I refer me unto your good discretions to consider of it. Of the quantities you send: if 200 cloths, 120 of them may be stammels and Venice reds, some 50 popinjay and grass greens, 10 or 15 yellows and the rest deer colours, sand colours, violets etc. and amongst them for a trial a white cloth or two well dressed. The scarlet which Mr. Edwardes hath brought is spotted, otherwise might sell it. Sir Robert Sherlye brought some 20 yards spotted in the same manner, and that sent upon the Dragon was not very well-conditioned; except this defect may be remedied, better not to send any. I am of opinion that 100 Devon kerseys sorted in colours as the cloth for a further trial were requisite. Those few brought upon the Dragon were sold and since some have inquired for them.

As for lead, tin, elephants' teeth, quicksilver, vermilion, etc., I refer me to Mr. Aldworthe's advice, Guzeratt being the fittest place for sale of those commodities, whereof I have not certain intelligence what quantities have been sold there. These goods are brought usually from Bengala hither[2] and of late a mine of quicksilver is found near Agra,[3] where within this four or five months it is much fallen in the price it was usually worth.

Your sword-blades now brought hither are not such as are in request, neither in goodness or fashion. They desire not swords out of want, but because they cannot temper their metal as well as in Christendom. If they stand in bending they are not here esteemed.[1] They desire them more crooked, thicker in the back, and broader blades than any sent; and then some 500 will sell, and of them 100 may be of the best metal that can be gotten, which will sell to best profit. Those now brought stand in bending. Mr. Edwards hath sent a pattern cut in paper which is near the fashion, if a little more crooked; any man that hath been here may give direction for them.

Your looking-glasses and comb-cases are of a good fashion, liked well enough, yet sell but slowly, being dear, for combs and the other instruments are in little use and cheap here. Those glasses set in black wood are unfit for this place, for the heat makes the wood warp and cracks the glasses; wherefore some of several sizes may be sent unset, and others set in gilded paste-board. If any in wood they must be such as have pictures on the borders, which are most esteemed for the pictures. Some few comb-cases also with their glasses, but no great quantities, for by those now brought we see that many of any sorts will not sell speedily.

Of your Bullgaryan hides there are brought hither some 150, whereof about fifty are sold at 8, 9, 10 and 11 rupees the piece; the rest will sell also. Some 200 of them yearly will suffice. They desire the largest that may be gotten.

The Mogoll's picture drawn in England is nothing like him; so will serve for no use at all. The rest of the pictures brought up hither, most of them are given for presents and the rest reserved for like uses. Divers have been earnest to buy of them, but none have been sold; wherefore if five or six dozen were appointed for that purpose I think they would sell. They may be of several sizes and being well wrought, those of France, Germany, Flanders, etc., are fittest for that purpose; for they esteem not of the ladies' pictures according to their value, except only for the rarity of the workmanship; so a few extraordinary of them for presents will suffice. The rest may be of different fictions of feigned gods, histories,[2] gardens, banquets and the like, with some two or three

hundred pictures, which are cheaper. Black hair or brown is most esteemed here, agreeing with their complexions.

Here is daily inquiring for toys, being now the time of the Noroose, when all men present the King; yet those we have sell not. They desire novelties and variety, yet themselves cannot express what they would have, so we cannot advise other than generally for toys of new invention; some small pictures painted on brass, cut in brass, of massy brass, of marble, freestone or wood curiously wrought; some few pictures in wax covered with glass, and other toys for view only.

And for the King and some of the chiefs it were requisite that fitting things be yearly sent to continue our grace with them, as three or four fair cases [of] bottles filled with variety of waters, but a little of the costliest may serve the turn; some courtlike pictures, as the running at tilt, the King and nobility spectators, the King sitting in Parliament, and suchlike will be graceful and give content, being done curiously, that his own people may come short in imitation, of whom he hath and some skilful;[1] and if any other extraordinary thing be sent he will either requite it to the messenger or send some present to answer it. A beaver hat or two for the King and a felt for the time of rain and a couple of other beavers and some felts for noblemen were fitting; two or three beaver hats also for his chief women, and half a dozen of felts would be liked of, for they wear them on hunting.[2] They must be of light colours and of a decent fashion, something low crowned and broad brims for the sun. The fashion now in use is unfit for them, being too high crowned by the one half.

Mr. Aldworth having divers cloths left of those brought upon the Dragon, which in regard of the colours he could not sell, Nycholas Wythington coming to Agra advised him for the sending of them up thither; which he did and therewith sent a small parcel of quicksilver and vermilion, which Nycholas Wythington hoped to have sold at higher rates than it would yield in Guzeratt, but found himself deceived therein, for neither the cloth would sell (much of it being rotten) nor the rest yield so much as below; whereof hath arisen great charges in the bringing of it up, whereat and other crosses happened unto him in his indigo business he took it so exceedingly to heart that with grief he is distracted[3] and so

hath continued this two months (God in mercy restore him). Upon knowledge thereof I sent thither one Richard Barber, an apothecary who came out of England with Sir Robert Sherley and since his departure hath remained here with me; who hath been a comfort to Nycholas Wythington in this his distress; and being an honest, well governed man, I committed the sale of the said goods unto him, assisted by one of our brokers whom Mr. Aldworth sent up therewith from Suratt. They advise the cloth is very bad and will yield little; what may be done therein shall speedily be effected to avoid further charge.

Concerning Mydnall's goods and moneys deposited,[1] I have in both my former advised, as also of the 3,400 rupees thereof received. The rest as yet I have not received, wanting time to follow it, having had much to do in getting the King's letter and the firmaen sent to Suratt, besides the sale of the cloth etc. The said moneys received Mr. Edwards required of me in the behalf of your Worships, but I had passed it down to Mr. Aldworth before (according to order received from him), making no question of any error committed therein, though he take it something distasteful.

Mr. Aldworthe adviseth me of 1,400 fardles of indigo and a certain quantity of cotton yarns and baftaes laden upon the Hope and something upon the Hector, referring me for the particulars to an invoice thereof sent Mr. Edwards, which yet he hath not showed me. So I make no question but he sends your Worships the copy with large advice of occurrences passed at Suratt.

Mr. Aldworth writeth also that the 33 bales of Byana indigo bought by Nycholas Wythington came thither before the ship's departure, and that the Hope being full it was laden upon the Hector, valued at 13 rupees the small maen, which is much less than it cost first penny and Nycholas Wythington always affirmed he could have sold it in Agra at 8 per cent. more than it cost him. So that indigo of Sarques continuing at so low rates there is no meddling with any of Byana. The present differences betwixt this people and the Portingals is cause of it; for formerly it hath been usually sold at 16 and 18 rupees the small maen, which is some 30 lbs. English weight. That of Byana holdeth still his price, viz. 34 and 36 rupees the great maen, containing about 50 lbs.

English pro rato in weight. It seemeth the difference in price is more than it produceth profit.

In all things concerning the managing of business in this court, of the country, people, commodities etc. and of all things else which I have observed since my being in these parts, according to my duty to your Worships I have freely acquainted and imparted to Mr. Edwards, using my utmost diligence, according to the small talent which God hath given me, for the effecting of your Worships' designs; expecting indeed that myself and all of us your servants should have been partakers in his general advice, according to the custom held by Mr. Aldworthe and other chiefs, which in my opinion for the general good were requisite, for many together may remember somethings needful which one, though provident, may omit, and younger men unexperimented may the sooner attain to perfection, which I think is your Worships' intents in that particular; whereof being frustrated and most times in action, I was unprovided at Richard Steele's departure; so forced to send these hasty lines after him to Agra.

Considering my so long residence here it may be expected I should advise of other particulars for your Worships' further satisfaction of the fitness of some things in question twixt most of your chiefs that came in this fleet, which by some crossing letters from each to other there is manifestation of differences, whereof having no certain notice I cannot distinguish the error, for that I have not seen your orders or commission which should direct us all; save only, through question of Mydnall's goods, Mr. Edwards showed me some particulars therein confirming his principality; besides my intelligence of the said difference is broken and uncertain.

Of Perseia and that business projected by Mr. Aldworth I had some conference with Sir Robert Sherley, who giveth much encouragement of great good to be done by trade there. I obtained from him certain notes of the ports and have inquired of divers Perseians touching the depths and conveniency of them for ships to ride, but cannot build of any certainty therein, though true it is such ports there are in Perseia. A copy of which note I herewith send your Worships[1] and have given another copy to Richard Stell and John Crouther to inform

themselves of the certainty thereof, and have written to Sir Robert Sherlye for his furtherance in their business, etc. It is generally reported that the King of Perseia hath besieged Ormus and brought it to some distress.[1] The extreme base pride of the Portingals will work their ruin everywhere.

We have advice from Suratt of the departure of all your ships in safety the second of this present month (which news came hither in 16 days), the Hope for England and the other three to the southward. God prosper their proceedings and send them home in safety. It pleased the General to advise me particularly of their fight passed there betwixt yours and the Portingals, which in truth was very providently handled, the enemy being of so great force; which hath caused this people to have especial regard unto us ever since, admiring both God's favour towards us and our people's manful resolution; yet it produceth not any effects in them in neither kind. I write not particularly of the manner of it, knowing you have large information from divers then present. The common report is that the Portingals are gone to Ormus to assist their people there besieged by the Persians.

The wars twixt this King and the Rana, an Indian Prince, which upon occasion in a former letter I mentioned, is now finished, for the said Rana hath sent his son with 3,000 horse at his own charge to serve the King, but himself excused his coming unto him.[2]

In my last I was a suitor unto your Worships that the two thirds of my wages for the three years past might have been employed for my account in the next voyage, but perceiving now that all adventures are reduced into a joint stock I entreat your favours that the said sum and all others that may grow due within four years (the time limited for the renewing thereof) may be adventured for my account in your general stock for the said time; and for the enlarging of my allowance I have supplicated also (hoping on your favours therein), which as I shall endeavour to deserve so I will ever pray for all prosperous success to these and all other honourable and worthy designs; and rest

Your Worships' humble servant,

Tho. Keridge.

Postscript. Mr. Edwards presented the King a mastiff; and speaking of the dog's courage, the King caused a young leopard

to be brought to make trial, which the dog so pinched that few hours after the leopard died.[1] Since, the King of Perseia with a present sent hither half a dozen dogs. The King caused boars[2] to be brought to fight with them, putting two or three dogs to a boar, yet none of them seized; and remembering his own dog sent for him, who presently fastened on the boar; so disgraced the Persian dogs, wherewith the King was exceedingly pleased. Two or three fierce mastiffs, a couple of Irish greyhounds and a couple of well [bred ?] water spaniels would give him great content.

Tho. Ker.

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The Rev. Peter Rogers to the East India Company.

Emanuel. Laus Deo in Agimeere, March 23rd, 1614 [1615].

RIGHT Worshipful, etc. My most humble duty remembered, etc. After the departure of Mr. Steele, this bearer, from us, we received letters from Surat which enforce me (though unwilling) to trouble your Worships with a few lines by way of apology, for that it hath pleased the General, notwithstanding a seeming loving and affectionate parting, to break out into very gross and scandalous accusations both against Mr. Edwards and myself, and therefore I am compelled to manifest the truth of our proceedings touching Sir Thomas his sweet kinsman deceased,[3] which by God's grace shall be done, and I beseech your Worships so to conceive of me, in truth and sincerity, viz: Mr. Edwards told me in private once that he could have wished (in regard of that affection he bare him, and good liking he conceived of him) that Henry Smith would accompany him to Agra, and that in him he would have expressed that duty and love he bare to Sir Thomas, but since that Mr. Dodsworth both so earnestly desired that he should, and the youth seemed willing to stay at Suratt he was purposed (to let him have content) to make no words thereof, and this was all that passed betwixt Mr. Edwards and myself; and for my own part I protest unto your Worships that I never opened my mouth

to the youth till such time as that he came unto me with weeping eyes and desired me for Sir Thomas' sake to tell Mr. Edwards that if it pleased him he would be very glad to go up to Agra with him and would be willing also to be where I was; which request of his caused me to marvel, whereupon I questioned with him to know his reason, which I could not obtain, only with more fervency than before he affirmed that he was resolved not to stay at Suratt, but durst not freely speak his mind for fear of displeasing the General and Mr. Dodsworth, but if it came to the worst he would not care for their displeasure but was purposed to have told them that he knew it was your Worships' pleasure that he should have his content in these parts. Whereupon I demanded if that Mr. Dodsworth had at any time used him unkindly in private (for to the view of all men he had given him no cause of the least mistrust that could be perceived). He answered me only thus much, that he had no cause any way to accuse Mr. Dodsworth but desired me with great fervency, without any further inquiry of the cause, to be a means of his going with Mr. Edwards, and both Sir Thomas and himself would be beholden unto me. Whereupon in tender compassion of the poor soul (which seemed discontented and grieved at somewhat, but said he would keep it to himself) I condescended to his request, upon his own protestation of himself of constancy that if Mr. Edwards were willing, none should dissuade him. I, being bound in duty to Sir Thomas and in love to him (who deserved all men's love by his sweet discreet carriage and by his extraordinary, for his years, show and apprehension of religion) would have done, and still will do, any ways more that lieth in my power than that comes to, for Sir Thomas his sake and his own, if he had demanded it with less earnestness than in that point he urged me, acquainted Mr. Edwards with his request, who being glad thereof gave his consent and closely stuck to the youth to accomplish his desire, which he before craved that he would; which being mentioned the General and Mr. Dodsworth so laid at him to dissuade him, by his own confession, that he would often come sighing to me, protesting that he knew not what to do. This he came of himself often to my cabin privately and told me, always fearing when he came lest the General or

Mr. Dodsworth should espy him coming to me (to whom he always was most welcome), and what with their forcible persuasions to stay and his own resolution (notwithstanding the same) to go, the poor soul was much grieved, went up and down as forlorn, and would be often solitary alone musing, manifesting of himself that still he was confident in his former resolution, but desired me to speak to Mr. Edwards not to be offended with him if he did not (for fear of the General) so fully express himself as he would when he came to Suratt, and then, he said, I protest (that was his word, which he often reiterated) that, say what they would, he would not stay behind.

And whereas the General doth accuse Mr. Edwards of using the children as pages, in conscience I cannot choose but clear him of such a thought, for we are all eye-witnesses of his careful respective[1] usage of them with all kindness, they having their man to attend them, and Mr. Edwards, to express his love to Henry Smith (which doth evidently show the accusation of the General to be false and to proceed of malice), he not only when he rode alone almost always had him sit in the coach with him but he enjoined him to call him friend and no otherwise: that was the term and no other that passed betwixt them from one to another, as, "Here, friend, I drink to you," "What cheer,[2] friend," and the like upon every occasion, which how it savoured of a page his usage your Worships may easily judge. What should be the reason of his great desire to go and unwillingness to stay I cannot gather, unless it were because he heard some inkling of Mr. Dodsworth's going for England, but what certainly to build upon I cannot tell.

Furthermore, that it may seem that I did not join with Mr. Edwards to betray them (as the General most unchristianly and uncharitably accuseth us) I protest unto your Worships I never opened my mouth to the child till I had just cause to suspect Mr. Dodsworth's return for England, and that upon good presumptions from his own mouth, and till there was such muttering (though no certainty thereof) he never spake to me himself; but Mr. Dodsworth's return considered, he (as afore) making earnest suit, I, knowing my own affection to them and perceiving Mr. Edwards' goodwill towards them, was then the

more desirous to have them along rather than to be left with those that were strangers to them, yet never spake word (I protest before God) till first with great earnestness he came to me, yea, even with tears, and told me his mind and desired me to speak for him as before; and that privately, lest it should first come to the General's ear (of whom he stood in very great fear) before he knew Mr. Edwards' mind.

Touching the danger and unwholesomeness of this place, which the General so much urged, it is not unknown to your Worships that our times are in God's hands wheresoever, and if Sir Thomas and his friends (as was replied by some) would not commit him to the will of God and be content he should run the hazard of dangers where it was most fit for him, they would never have sent him out of England; and (blessed be God) we have had all of us our healths very well except one or two, who are recovered or upon the mending hand, whereas at Suratt they have been more touched a great deal and lost many men, but we (God be thanked) have as yet lost none at all.

For any other unjust accusation which the General may show his weakness in to invent or accuse me of, I beseech your Worships to consider of me according to the report of Mr. Dodsworth, Mr. Pring, Mr. Spaight, Mr. Bennet, Mr. Day, etc., or any other honest men of the fleet, for just cause I thank God I have not given the General to think and report so vilely of me, yet he not only hath been but shews he is still maliciously bent against me. For the difference that seems to be betwixt Mr. Edwards and Mr. Dodsworth I am very sorry. I pray God the General have not been a means to rouse up and further contention amongst brethren. The letter which he sent to Mr. Edwards[1] after a loving parting (in show) and receiving the communion together may evidently show what spirit he is of.

For my own part I am content to pass by many gross abuses he hath offered me, and if himself had not revealed himself and enforced me to write somewhat (which I am sorry for), I could and would have been content upon hope of reformation, and because there was betwixt us, on my part, a thorough reconciliation, to have concealed, and was purposed so to do; but yet I

cannot now in conscience, seeing he persisteth, but inform your Worships, that hereafter you may beware of him, that he is not the man you take him to be touching religion, but a contemner of the Word and Sacraments both, as at large I could relate; he is very malicious, irreconcilable and unconscionable in his proceedings divers ways, as Mr. Dodsworth also in many things can witness, at the unkind usage of whom (besides my own cause) especially at the first and a long while after, I have been much grieved. But I delight not to stir much in the mud of his miry hypocritical courses, which to lay open at large (as I could) would savour (unless I were present to prove and justify them) of malice in me (which the Lord knoweth I am free from) and but trouble your Worships' ears. I will therefore defer the acquainting of your Worships with the particulars till it shall please God (if ever He please so to dispose) that I may face to face accuse him of those gross matters that it is almost a shame to speak of. But I pray God deliver any minister from travelling with him, and I beseech your Worships (as in conscience I am bound) not to persuade any thereto, for it is impossible almost (unless he be preserved by miracle) that a minister should live outward and homeward bound with him, so basely, carelessly, uncharitably and uncomfortably he shall be regarded, and not only so but abused.

To touch at large his abusing of your Worships, accusing you that though you professed religion many of you, he always found those that made not so great a show to be more generous, more bountiful and the like; of his denying me things needful when I have been ill; of taking me up, bidding me meddle with that I had to do when I have spoken in the behalf of sick men for needful things they requested me to demand of him when I came to visit them; of his ordinary neglect of prayer on the week days, and very often on the Sabbath the exercises of religion, to the great offence and discouragement of many; and divers other things which he is grossly guilty of, would ask a long discourse. But I pray God bless him and prosper him in his proceedings and forgive his hypocrisy and pretence of religion, whereas indeed there is none in him, in respect of that which he makes show of.

I have somewhat touched this point in a letter to Doctor Page,[1] only in conscience aiming at the preventing of the misery that is like to befall to any minister that shall travel with him, which I have tasted of, and should more grievously have done if my good friends Mr. Edwards, Mr. Dodsworth, Mr. Pring and some others in Christian commiseration had not comforted me in my extremity and heavy grief of heart, whom I pray God to bless and prosper in all their ways for Christ Jesus' sake; but as for the General's malice, if he continue to feed and delight himself therein, it will I fear light upon his own pate.

And in the meantime his unkind and unchristian usage of me hath deprived many poor souls under his charge of that comfort which I thank God with weeping eyes they acknowledged (bewailing my departure) to have received by my means in my ministry (howsoever by him despised and contemned). I pray God it may not be laid to his charge.

And that your Worships may perceive that I have not deserved to be so uncharitably censured by him, I have his own hand to show against himself, a copy whereof I have sent your Worships verbatim as he sent it me for a token to Suratt after I was gone from the ships, wherein also all the merchants and others have accompanied him.

My comfort is the cause of his malice towards me (which was, and it seems still is, great) was for discharging my duty bound unto in conscience, yet not tauntingly reproving him, but in all humility exhorting him as a father, which he despised and told me he could tell his duty better than I could advise him, and suchlike demonstrations of pride and hypocrisy.

I therefore beseech your Worships favourably to censure of me touching whatsoever either he or any by his instigation now in my absence may broach or invent of me, which backbiting he is much given unto, and some with shame have confessed that he hath enforced from them their hands against me, which (being under his charge and knowing his condition) they durst not for the present deny, but being freed from him confessed; and willingly to make me amends gave me their hands in testimony of that which is true and in conscience they nor any can deny to avouch.

I have just cause to suspect the General and to expect hard measure at his hands, for that it seems he makes it a common practice to abuse his minister, as by the report of many he is shrewdly taxed; and I doubt not but your Worships have heard and to myself he hath railed at and reproached him, his malice being alive and fresh it seems, though the poor man be dead; therefore I myself look for no other.

But that your Worships may perceive that in me there was not so much as a thought of any former matter if this had not been that by God's providence is timely come to light of the continuance of that old soaked humour in him of inveterate hatred and continuance where once he takes dislike, I have sent your Worships the copies of two letters I sent him, the one from Suratt, the other concerning his son, though writ there, yet sent (being loth indeed to send it, if conscience had not enforced me) from Amadavars; which last letter it may be set him on fire, for no other occasion I can devise, I sending the same simply in love to him. How justly he conceiveth evil of me, I for that appeal to your Worships.

I wrote your Worships a letter from Amadavars by Mr. Dodsworth, wherein I made an humble request unto your Worships, which if it shall please you to grant, I shall think myself (as already I do) much bound unto your Worships; howsoever, shall rest contented so your Worships rest well opinionated of me (which is one of the chiefest worldly things I desire), and that no otherwise than according to my deserts, not giving credit to scandalous tongues till upon just proof, which I am sure can be never, nor shall by God's grace be ever just cause given.

And thus, craving pardon for my tediousness (having yet writ nothing but the truth), with my continual both public and private prayers for your Worships' prosperous success in all your affairs at home and abroad, I humbly take my leave.

Your Worships' humble servant,

East Indies. Peter Rogers.

Addressed: To the Honourable and Right Worshipful Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies in London dd. this.

Endorsed: Agimere, 23rd of March, 1614 [1615]. Mr. Rogers to the Governor and Company.

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William Edwards to the East India Company. Thus anno 1614 [1615] the 24th March, in Adgmere.

HONOURABLE and Right Worshipful, My humble service remembered, etc. I have written unto your Worships at large by the Hope returned for England, who departed from Swally the 2nd present as also by the bearer hereof, Richard Steele, who departed from hence by land for England ten days since by the way of Agra, unto which my several letters[1] I refer you; and now through the present occasion am, to preserve my reputation from scandalous tongues, enforced to fashion this apology in a plain form, but as near the life as may be, which when your Worships shall find blemished in part I shall never profess to have had any skill or practice in the rules of loyalty or fair proceedings, yet do I not hereby arrogate unto myself such perfections as is free of weakness, for I know more thereof in myself than in any other man, but of malice or wilful errors is it I seek hereby to acquit me of; and as in all humble manner I cannot but acknowledge your Worships' favourable and loving respect of me in many worthy offices, so herein I shall be much engaged unto you for the point of justice in censuring me and my opposites according to the equity of our cause. I have heretofore written unto my brother Edwards a long relation of some occurrences in our voyage unto Suratt, which it may please your Worships to call upon, and he will deliver the same, wherein is contained some answers unto divers objections in our General's letter.

Days past I received divers letters from Suratt, among which one from our General, the copy whereof I send you here enclosed, wherein he lashes me with Withers' scourge,[2] myself indeed being cause thereof in lending him the whip, wherein it seems he hath profited much, as may appear by his plenteous formality of words.

His first accusation is answered is my said discourse. The second at St. Augustine not fully answered, which as it was the ground of all his malice, so it appears one of the first; which

thus I answer. We putting into the Bay of Saldania on the 15th June, stayed and refreshed our people there until the 2nd July; and setting sail from thence, the 4th August we were in the latitude of 23 degrees and 35 minutes, and from that time till the 6th at night we steered to the southward with a fresh gale [of] wind to fetch the bay of St. Augustine; which when Mr. Pringe and Mr. Dodsworth perceived, and knowing the little cause there was to spend time there, wished the General to call a Council,[1] which with some unsavoury words he refused to do, and so on the 6th ditto at night coming to anchor in the said bay; which when I perceived, and understanding no cause to spend time there [I] went aboard our General and entreated him to acquaint me with his purpose of putting in, which he said was to fill water and cut wood, whereto I answered that there was no want of either of them, for that our ship had at the least 50 tons of water and three years wood, and I supposed that all the rest of the fleet were answerably furnished, and that I had no intent to supply either of them in the Hector. Then he said he meant to spend but two days there and would be gone, which being past and we doing nothing I solicited the General to set sail, which he said he would do the next day; and so from day to day, sometimes under pretence of getting fresh victuals, sometimes wood and suchlike, we spent the time.[2] In the end, when he saw me grow earnest with him to be gone, the 5th night he sent Mr. Pring to me at midnight to know if I would give my consent to stay the next day; whereunto I sent him answer that he might do what pleased him of himself but I would give no consent thereto. Then he sent Mr. Pryng to the Hope, desiring [the] like of Mr. Ensworth, which he yielded unto, who afterwards for that cause was much esteemed of the General; but the next night after, when I saw him make no way to be gone and understanding the danger of losing the monsones and so the whole state of the voyage, I sent him word that we had lost much time already, and therefore desired that he would set sail that night without fail, which if he did not I should be forced for mine own discharge and others to frame a protest against him, which I should be very sorry to do, yet the necessity of the cause required it, so as I could not do other and save my credit. Whereto he sent

me word that he would set sail so soon as his boats came aboard from the shore, which he did. This was the cause that he never since could well affect me; yet never any words of discontent did pass between us. Our needless stay there was [so ?] palpably gross that all the fleet made a common jest thereof, yet none durst speak, insomuch as myself was accompted and reputed to my face a timeserver for not being yet more plain with the General than I was, although in truth I must confess my zeal unto the general good carried me somewhat beyond my bounds of modesty. Now what his designs might [be] in this expense of time I leave to your Worships' consideration; yet myself do know his sala [ry] large.

At Socatore our General went ashore with all his merchants and others of best fashion to congratulate with the King of the island, and myself, remembering the stratagem that befell Sir Henry Middleton at Mocho,[1] excused myself to the General for not going with him, though not by that reason, for not disparaging his understanding; which then he seemed not much to dislike, though now to furnish his letter he gives it place among the rest of [his] accusations, all which the end will show to be of like nature.

For the purser's cause I refer you to my said discourse, with the copy of his accusation and my several answers; yet, finding myself wronged [*blank*], I required of our General and the Council ordained for such purposes justice, who with a joint council condemned him to be whipped at the capstan for abusing his commander; yet notwithstanding upon [shew ?] of contrition I remitted and replanted him in his charge.

My saucy comparison was only a request unto him, that whereas there had been con [tinual ?] injuries on either part, that now I might be beholden to him for a friendly parting, in saying to me "my love go with you," which I pretended would give me much content; other than to this effect I am sure passed nothing. For allowance of expense at Court, I demanded none of him, for I knew no authority he had to give any. For not writing to him after my departure from Surrat in my journey, I confess I only writ him one letter, the copy whereof I send herewith, the highway offering no material cause to write. The great accusation

wherein exception may be had and at the present gave me my reward with grief enough, is leaving the King's letter at Suratt, wherein I blame my fortune not myself, for I delivered the same contained between the two lids of the case of bottles to my servant out of my chamber to lade aboard the carts among other cases of the Company's and he mingling it with others [it] was left behind; which Mr. Elkington finding sent after me three days journey off, but I thank our General he pays with a blank for my fault.

For other his accusations of keeping 850 mamoodes and stuffs to mine own use given me by the Nababb,[1] of my carrying of Henry Smyth and Roger Prowd up, and other such that savour more of malice than matter, I refer me to the report of others that shall without passion write. Of such material as I am charged with I crave your p[atience?] to hear my answers; as the payment of great sums of money to Baily Ball, thereby to benefit myself, whereto I answer that if so much as one royall have been paid him or any other for his use unto this day without collusion I shall neither desire respect nor reward of my labours; if it be so I refer me to your Worships' consideration, if the General have done me right or wrong in his unjust accusations. If anyone, as it may well be, have advised the General that he hath not been called to Council, it is one [that is] very foul in the Company's business, and therefore unfit to be admitted into any consultation. Some others of your Worships' servants perhaps will advise of him.

For the rest of his scandalous lettering I let pass as proceeding from an intent to disquiet me withal, which like enough had done, but that having eaten some bread and salt together I have had experience of his condition, which gives me some satisfaction in strange and unexpected lines of his; but God judge between him and me.

The chief cause of this troubling your Worships is that I have been threatened by a letter from one in the returned ship[2] to be disgraced as much as in him lieth, which thing I fear not, knowing your wisdoms to be such as not to be deluded by the insinuation of scandalous tongues. But too much of these things, unless the subject were more pleasing.

Whereas I writ you in my formers of a fight between the Portingalls' ships and ours, the Viceroy it seems retired himself to Damone, where he refreshed and repaired his fleet, and returned with ten great ships and seventy and odd frigates, and the 10th February essayed by fireworks in certain boats to set our fleet on fire; but it pleased God to turn their device upon their own heads by firing divers of their own frigates; and the Viceroy, seeing their bad success, set sail with all his fleet and departed, some to the southward and some to the northward, and since no news of them.

The Hope in company of your Worships' other ships set sail from Swally on her way for England on the 2nd present, having in her 1,421 churles of indigoes for the Company's account, with

13 fardles of salammoniac.
3 pipes of aloes Socatrina.
41 carpets, divers sorts.
2 jars of green ginger.
2 jars of mangas.[1]
2 jars of myrabbolynne.[2]
15 jars of ginger and myrabbolynne.

The Hector hath in her for Pryaman and Ticcoe 6,500 pieces white baftas, the greatest part whereof I suppose will return for England. She hath also 2,470 pieces of coloured calicoes of divers sorts: Byana indigo, 33 churles, containing 198 maunds, little more or less: cotton yarns, 316 maunds; all which should have been laden for England if there had been stowage in the Hope. God send her safely to arrive in her port of right discharge.

So for present, with my prayer for your Worships' prosperity, I commit you to the Almighty, who direct all your consultations and prosper all your actions. I rest

Your Worships' humble servant,
Will. Edwardes.

Addressed: To the Honourable and Right Worshipful the Governor, Deputy and Company of the Merchants Trading to the East Indias dd. in London.

Endorsed: [ ] Mr. Edwards to the Governor and Company.

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Thomas Mitford to the East India Company.
March 25th, 1615.

RIGHT Worshipful, My humble service remembered, etc. These are to let you understand that my last, date[d] the 28th of December,[1] I sent by Edward Dodesworth from Amadavars, wherein was related our arrival and troublesome entertainment at Surrat by Macrabchan, Governor of the town, and likewise of our proceedings until our departure Amadavars, and also of our sending for the discovery of the Persian trade, having by Mr. Thomas Aldworthe's means found a principal port called Jascas (Jashak), lying in the Gulf some 30 leagues without Ormous, where ships of great burthen may resort unto, whereby, as I have gathered by sundry in this country, we may vend six or seven hundred cloths and a thousand kerseys, agam[2] colours, per annum to very good profit, as also tin, lead, iron, cony-skins, fitches[3] and other furs, whereby in future times less moneys may be transported out of our land; yet at your first sending is it requisite to leave a stock of twenty thousand pounds to remain in the country, and the like here, as by experience this year we have found very requisite, for the buying of commodities at such times of the year as they may be had best cheap; for upon the arrival of our ships all commodities do arise forty or fifty per cent, and again upon the sudden commodities are not to be gathered in short space, whereby your ships are forced to stay four or five months for lading, so that you shall be driven to great charges in maintaining three or four ships for lading of one, as of necessity you must for defence against the Portingalls, besides the much endamaging them here by long stay; whereas by keeping a stock in the country they may be despatched in twenty days or one month's time.

If you determine to send for Percia it were good you set forward in the beginning of November to be at Jascas by August, where you may spend three months time, and then with the northerly winds to come to Surrat in November, where they may be dispeeded by the middle of January, which will be a very good time either to go for Bantam or home for England.

Now may you please to understand that the 2nd of February we arrived at the court of Agmer, the Emperor being seven course off a-hunting; where we stayed four days to fit our presents, and then sent to give the Emperor notice of our being at Agmer and to know his pleasure, whether we should come thither to him or attend his return to Agmer again. So the Emperor, understanding of our arrival, gave order for our coming thither to him, and having all our present in a readiness we came to the lasker[1] the 7th of February in the evening. And the next day we were brought before the King, where after obeisance Mr. Edwardes delivered our King's Majesty's letter with these presents, viz. our King's Majesty's picture, the Queen's and Lady Elizabeth's, the rich cloak, the rich case of strong waters, one great black glass set in an ebony frame, and a case of knives. The King, showing a very loving countenance unto us, said that he was very much beholden unto our King for his kind remembrance, calling him oftentimes his brother; and having the day before understood by the Governor of Surrat of our late fight with the Portingalls (the Viceroy of Goa being there in person with all the forces that he could make) and how we gave them a shameful overthrow with the loss of three of their ships besides many frigates, wherein they lost three hundred men at least, did much commend the valours of the English, saying that he was endeared unto us for defending his port of Surrat (for of purpose the Portingalls came to have taken it, and so would have done if we had not been there to defend it). Also [he] told us that he would answer our King's letters, and send him what we should think fit for a present, naming beasts, birds, stuffs or any other thing that his kingdom did afford and thereupon asked what we would demand. So Mr. Kerridge answered that his picture would give good content to our King, and likewise a young elephant, if it pleased his Majesty to send them. The King, well pleased with his demand, said that they should be sent; and likewise willed us to set down in writing whatsoever else we should require for the furthering of our businesses in his countries and he would grant it. We have divers times since been with him, he still showing us great courtesies, often propounding questions of our King and country, and hath given Mr. Edwards for a present towards his

charges three thousand roupies; and likewise hath been given him from divers of the nobility for presents to the value of sixteen hundred roupies.

The 14th of this present, being the 4th day of the Nouerouse (which is the principal feast of all the year) we went to the Court, where Mr. Edwards presented the King with divers pictures and received his letters to our King's Majesty, the copy whereof is sent home by this bearer, Richard Steell.

We find but small sale for commodities, only cloth to some great men; of which we have sold about eighty at 10 roupies per covidoe, which covido is 32 inches, so that we do advance above eleven per cent. in measure.

Our Muscovie hides we do sell at 10 roupies per piece, but they go away very slowly; yet I think two hundred per annum will vend, and the like quantity of cloths, they being of light colours, as stamets, Venice reds, grass greens and some few of other such colour. If you send a hundred kerseys of the same colours for a trial, I think would not be much amiss. As for your elephants' teeth we hear by Mr. Aldworth that they are sold at 70 mamodes the small mand, which is $30\frac{2}{3}$ lbs.; but for quicksilver and vermilion we hear nothing of the selling it, yet is it here at 170 roupies the great maund, which is 50 lbs. As for your sword-blades, they are neither good nor well-fashioned; therefore, if hereafter you send any, let them be of a good length, all crooked, an inch thick in the back, and such as will bend well and not stand. Of such I think three or four hundred will sell to good profit. But for your comb-cases, black looking-glasses, cases of bottles, pictures, knives, spectacles, burning-glasses, etc., [they] are not commodities fit for these countries; therefore you may please to send no more but such as you mind shall be given away in presents.

A lieger here of necessity you must keep for redressing of wrongs, otherwise we must be subject to many inconveniences in our affairs, and him to be a scholar of good understanding and presence, for such a one will be much respected here. You must likewise provide to send by every fleet some new toys for presents, for in novelties this King is much delighted; therefore I thought it not much amiss to set down such things as I have gathered

will give content, which although they be somewhat chargeable will bring in their values by presents returned for them, for the King and nobles do return presents of equal value for any bestowed on them.[1]

The 22nd of this month we received letters from Mr. Aldworth at Surrat, which signified that our ships departed thence the 2nd of this present, having laden aboard the Hope (which went for England) and the rest 1,421 bales of indigoes, with calicoes, cotton yarn and other commodities.

I have hereunder set down the weights, measures and valuations of moneys of this country for your better knowledge of them. Thus having no further at present to impart unto you, I humbly take my leave and rest

Your servant to be commanded,

Thomas Mitford.

Weights.

18 picas makes one small seare, which is $12\frac{1}{4}$ oz.;
and 40 seares maketh one mand, which is $30\frac{5}{8}$ lbs.;
30 picas makes one great seare, which is 20 oz.;
and 40 seares maketh one mand, which is 50 lbs.

Measures.

One general covide is holden, which is 32 inches.

Of valuations of moneys there be divers sorts, but these most in use, viz.:

Roupies Jangers[2] of 100 pisas, which goeth four for five ordinary roupies of 80 pisas called Cassanes,[3] and we value them at 2*s*. 4*d*. per piece;

Cecaus[4] of Amadavrs, which goeth for 86 pisas;

Challennes[5] of Agra, which goeth for 83 pisas;

and divers other sorts, but by reason that Jangers and Cassannes are most used we do keep our accounts in them, still holding one valuation, as is above said, they being net, having the dusture[6] taken out of them, which is a custom of this country.

Presents.

Two or three white beaver hats with broad brims.

Two or three cloaks made of felt.

Six pair of fine silk stockings, whereof three pair after the manner of stirrup hose.

One coach, with a man to manage it.

One clock, with some rare devices to strike after the Moors' fashion.

Two or three Venice [?] crystal boxes.

Some small pictures in wax.

A picture of our Court with their running at Tilt and Ring.

A picture of our Court of Parliament.

Some other pictures with good stories, and some with conceits that will show two or three pictures.[1]

Three or four good sword-blades well gilded.

Three or four good Irish greyhounds.

Three or four rough water spaniels.

Three or four good mastiffs, for we have given the King one of the last (there being no more alive), which killed a tiger in the King's presence, and likewise too a wild boar; wherefore he saith that a rich jewel would not have more contented him.

Addressed: To the Honourable and Right Worshipful Sir Thomas Smith, Knight, Governor, and Committees of the Right Honourable and Right Worshipful Company of Merchants Trading to the East Indies be these dd.

Endorsed: Agimere, the 25th of March, 1614 [1615]. Thomas Mitford to the Governor and Company.

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Thomas Kerridge to Sir Thomas Smythe.

Laus Deo in Agemere, the 26th of March, 1615.

HONOURABLE and Right Worthy Sir, My humble duty prefixed, etc. You may be pleased to understand that per the Hope with Mr. Edward Dodsworth I wrote divers letters, and in them some particulars to your Worship, which being sent per so sure conveyance, and himself writing me he had received them, I make no question,

with God's favourable permission, but that long ere this they are with you, whereunto for the past I refer me.

In a brief of the 4th of February[1] I certified your Worship that Mr. Edwards and his company were come hither in safety. The seventh of the same they were called to the Court, where the King of England's letter and the present were delivered, and with much love and affection by the King received, promising to send great presents in answer, but yet there are not any delivered save only an answer to our King's letter, which, though it be not his custom to send a bare letter to a foreign Prince, yet the necessity of the time required us to be earnest for it, otherwise we could not have sent any copy thereof by this bearer, who was stayed very long by Mr. Edwards for that purpose.

Mr. Edwards came hither in the name of an ambassador, whereof some chiefs examined particularly. So, lest by so small port as his he might disgrace our King and country, I showed them the difference twixt an ambassador and a private messenger, which they apprehended sufficiently and were well satisfied. There hath been given him since his coming hither 4,000 rupees, (which is 500*l.* sterling), viz., 3,000 by the King and 1,000 by Mahobett Chan, one of the chief nobility; which moneys Mr. Edwards appropriateth to his own use (how justly, to be doubted, for as I remember in the commission to Mr. Best and us in that voyage your Worships ordered that whatsoever was given in answer of presents should be charged to account; I charged a horse given me by the King in answer of a present of some 3*l.* given him); wherewith according to duty in that point I certified Mr. Edwards to the end that the said moneys and any others that may be given should be employed for your general account, but he answered that he hath no such order nor is not tied to any such conditions, seeming strong in the Company's good opinion and their allowance thereof, and hath a kind of evasion, saying the King gave it him for apparel, whenas the very words were these, delivered by Aseph Chan to me: "The King gives this towards his expense and horse-meat and giveth him no vests[2] (which is a custom) for that he weareth not our country apparel"; whereof he maketh the former construction. The other 1,000 rupees from Mahobett Chan was sent him for a

banquet, specifying in writing the particulars, as flesh, rice, butter etc., which is a direct custom, and could be for no other thing than the requital of his present; for without them and the present service done by your ships in Surratt against the Portingals he had been as little favoured in the respect of himself as other men. Divers presents hath been given Aseph Chan, who proffered requital, speaking privately thereof to me; and I, knowing his disposition covetous, withstood it, that thereby he might not disengage himself from following our business, without whom we had done nothing.

In all occasions I have done my best for the furthering of businesses propounded by Mr. Edwards and have freely informed him of all things, which by tedious travail and submissive patience I have observed, thereby to make him speedily fit for the present occasions, which perchance someone of riper judgment would not have done; wherein I have so far submitted myself for preferring the present good that in a manner I do attend on him, serving for his linguist, yet speak myself by our broker. Notwithstanding I fear I have not gained his love, for before the receipt of the King's letter some four or five days he did me a public disgrace upon surmises, thus: the answer of our King's letter was once written, which the King perusing commanded that they should in more ample manner express our King's greatness, interlining it, and willed it should be new written, and the day following undertook a hunting journey and was absent eight days, in which time we were delayed with promises for the delivery of it; the borders thereof being gilded, it was not so speedily effected. So Mr. Edwards giving ear to Ufflete, an unprofitable member, and little esteeming deserts in any but such as can temporise (as Ufflete, that calleth him his master, which indeed were fitter for him than such great entertainment from worthy employers) suspected, and directly accused me, that for some sinister end I caused it to be detained, or delayed it, and to approve his judgment sent Ufflete, who doing nothing, he went himself, as many think for that he was jealous I would appropriate the getting of it to mine own deserts, yet he failed in the obtaining of it, though he carried your Worship's picture with him, and gave it for a present.[1] After he was contented perforce

to see his error, though not acknowledge it, and sent me again about it. So three days after the King returned from hunting it was obtained.

In my general letters by the ships I have at large advised of certain goods by me recovered here in the Court—the plot Mr. Aldworthe's, the charge your Worships' (of the old Company) or else of Mydnall's principals that are interested therein, that is according as you please to determine, it being recovered by your servants and in your name—wherein we have used extraordinary means and much charge hath been spent, and having run a hazard of your Worships' allowance thereof if not recovered, Mr. Aldworthe hopeth of some consideration, which Mr. Edwards at his being in Suratt approved, but coming hither and perceiving the moneys in my hands, I had intelligence he intended to have it and to give account of it, which to prevent I passed it down by exchange to Suratt, having received divers letters to that purpose, but first acquainted Mr. Edwards therewith, which he took something distasteful, but seeing my resolution said he would not hinder a deserved recompense in us both; yet afterwards at the injury done me about the King's letter as specified he took witness that I had refused the delivery of the said moneys. The whole deposited may be some six hundred pounds, whereof four hundred is received, the rest in the King's hands, for I have not leisure to recover it; out of which is to be allowed a twelvemonths' charge here, besides extraordinary gifts and presents and 170 rupees I paid Richard Stell (100 rupees was given him by Mydnall's will and 70 rupees allowed him for a horse he killed in Mydnall's service). I advise particularly of these things lest some information might wrong me to your Worship; otherwise I accuse not any.

I rejoiced much, being so far remote, to see so lively a representation of your Worship your picture; only grieve it was so slenderly graced in the delivery, which I think was not the Company's intent; for Mr. Edwards in the time of his discontent with me, visiting Aseph Chan upon the occasion formerly mentioned, presented your Worship's picture unto him without the frame, and afterwards purposing to give the King a couple of others, being the time of Noroose when all men present, he sent the said

pictures to Aseph Chan to have his opinion of their fitness for that purpose (the one was a description of a court, the other a citizen's wife); but Aseph Chan, liking the court, returned your Worship's picture and took that (which himself presented to the King that day) and the next day your Worship's picture set in a frame and the citizen's wife[1] were delivered the King by Mr. Edwards, where I was present (though then not required), and being the least duty I could perform I declared to the King who you were, your place etc. I estranged at this kind of proceeding, for that long before in my presence Thomas Mitforde told Mr. Edwards that your picture with a fitting present for the grace of the Company and business were appointed to be delivered in your Worship's name, which had been very requisite for divers respects.

Mr. Edwards in his carriage here seemeth absolute, for [he] conferreth not of any business publicly nor will hear of councils, only privately with me and others for the bettering of his intelligence in things needful, which I freely advised, expecting that all of us should have been partakers of his general letter, but he of more provident experience hath only made use of my simplicity, which so long as it tendeth to the general good I may not be ashamed of my oversight.

By letters lately received from Suratt I perceive there hath passed discontents twixt Captain Nicholas Downton, Mr. Edwards, etc., for Captain Downton and Mr. Edward Dodsworthe both hath written some distasteful letters, which he answereth, sending the copies of theirs to the Company and accuseth them to clear himself, wherein our minister Mr. Rogers hath a hand also. It fitteth better his calling to persuade to peace than aggravate wrath, but he runs with the times. I fear his friends that sent him hither were mistaken in him; if he be honest other defaults may be borne with; though this place requireth more profound learning to defend God's cause against these cunning Jesuits, yet he showeth himself that way discreet, for hitherunto he hath avoided them, and the King hath not seen him.

In my formers I have entreated the Worshipful Company for increase of allowance and the employment of my wages due,[2]

which in this my general letter I do again remember them, presuming on your Worship's favourable furtherance therein, and that it may be put into the general stock for the first four years, together with other wages as it shall grow due.

When I peruse my lines I see my rudeness palpably. I am ashamed of it, yet having confidence in your honourable disposition to favour for pity, if want of merit, and having no friends in the Court or near acquaintance on whom I may rely, I humbly crave pardon, promising diligence and desire to deserve, till when and ever according to bounden duty I pray for the continuance of all happiness unto your Worship in this life and in that to come eternal felicity, and rest in all duty

The most obliged servant to your Worship,

Tho. Kerridge.

Postscript, the 21st ditto.[1]—Honourable Sir, With certain letters now come from Suratt, Mr. Aldworth sent me the copy of a consultation held aboard the Gift,[2] for the disposing of the goods and moneys appertaining to your Worships left there. Another copy of the same was sent to Mr. Edwards, wherewith he grew very impatient, accusing the General, Mr. Aldworth, etc., to have done foolishly and beyond their power in ordering thereof, threatening to disannul the same and that Mr. Aldworth should do nothing without his order, which if he withstood (as I am certain he will) he would let him know his strength. I persuaded to patience and to allowance of what was decreed therein, which for the preferment of the business was well provided of them below, Mr. Aldworth running an honest, plodding course and is now fitter for that place than any other man. The copy of the consultation I have sent your Worship and God permitting will observe the sequel. And humbly taking leave I rest

Your Worship's

Tho. Keridge.

Addressed: To the Honourable Sir Thomas Smithe, Knight, Governor to the Honourable and the Right Worshipful the East India Company these dd. in London. Per Rychard Stell overland.

Endorsed: Agemere, 26th of March, 1614 [1615]. Thomas Kerridge to the Governor and Company.

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John Jourdain [1] to Richard Wickham [2] in Japan.

Bantam, 6th of April, 1615.

LOVING Friend Mr. Wickham, My commendations remembered, etc. This is only to certify you that by the surgeon of the Holland ship I received your letter, whereby I understand of your pretended voyage for Siam, hoping of your better success than the other junk wherein went Mr. Peacocke.[3] According to your desire I have remembered you to the Worshipful Company; for now we serve all one master and one voyage, which is for the Joint Stock, as you shall understand by the Company's letters sent Mr. Cocks,[4] and by the general letter the copy of which Mr. Coppendall,[5] cape merchant of this ship, can show you; at sight of which the Company hath commanded that the remainder of all voyages shall be valued as it is well worth in the country as goods, money [and] debts, and having valued the same, the account thereof is to be sent for Bantam, to be brought to the account of the Joint Stock. So that all factors in the Indias are now to remain upon the said Joint Stock, who are to pay all wages and charges, and all factories are to yield account at Bantam. I thank you heartily for your courtesy for the jar of break,[6] which I will not forget, God willing. You shall receive by this bearer one piece of satin, which I send you for a suit of apparel, which I pray accept in [*torn*] until better fall. Thus not having else, referring [for further news?] unto the bearer, for time will not permit [me to write?] at large, therefore I crave pardon and leave you to the Lord, whom bless us all. Amen.

Your loving friend,

Jno. Jourdain.

Postscript.—The James, Globe and Samaritan all gone laden for England. I hope the James and the Globe will meet at the Cape. The James went hence some 36 days before the Globe and the Globe so much before the Samaritan; for the Samaritan departed the 3th of this month. Mr. Balle is in the Concord at Aboina

(Amboyna) and Banda with a pinnace which I made in Bantam. The Thomasine is gone to second him. The Thomas, where is Mr. Rowe for master, is gone for Sumatra. We daily look for Captain Downton with four great ships. Here will be employment for all men this next year at full. Thus I rest. Vale.

Addressed: To his very loving friend, Mr. Richard Wickham, be this dd. in Jappan or elsewhere.

Endorsed: [*Part illegible*] the 6th of April. [Received ?] per the Osiander in Firando the last of August.

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Laus Deo aboard the Hector in Achin,
the 15th April, 1615.[1]

A NOTE of presents, duties, and compositions which we gave and paid in the procuring of our licence to trade at Priaman, Tecoo and Barouse, without which presents we could obtain nothing; the contents as followeth:

	Mamodes.	Pice.
Presented to the Sabandar, when he brought the King's chop[2] to go ashore: one fine bafta white, No. 8, cost first penny .	00012	09
Presented to the Cutwall or Captain of the Sea: one white shash,[3] which cost first penny	00007	16
Presented to the Customer of Achin: one girdle, cost first penny $5\frac{3}{4}$ mamodes, he coming with the chop aboard	00005	24
Presented to the Captain of the Castle at Achin: one girdle, cost first penny 7 mamodes, (all ut supra was presented by general consent aboard the Hector when the chop came aboard)	00007	00

The 20th ditto.

			Mamodes.	Pice.
Presented to the King of Achin at Pedir by Mr. Oxwick and Mr. Juxon, which was appointed by our General, as followeth:				
Four white baftas fine, No. 11, No. 25, No. 42, No. 43, and cost first penny . . .	00145	24		
One white shash, No. 2, cost sixteen mamodes . . .	00016	00		
Two girdles, No. 1 and No. 3, cost first penny . . .	00023	00		
Six swords, cost 23*s.* 6*d.* in England	00023	16		
Two lances rated at 20*s.* . .	00020	00		
Two damask[1] pieces cost 48*s.* 8*d.* is mamodes . . .	00048	20		
			00276	24
Presented to the Sabandar of Pedir by Mr. Oxwick and Mr. Juxon for a house he lent them: one fine bafta, No. 7, cost . .			00011	25
Presented to the King's father-in-law, Maraja, by Mr. Oxwick: one chased fowling-piece, cost 22*s.* 4*d.*			00022	11
Given the Sabandar of Achin by Mr. Oxwick: one fine bafta, No. 25, cost 29 [mamodes] to get horses and to give leave to go to the King, Mr. Oxwick being stayed .			00029	00

The 13th May.

Presented by Mr. Oxwicke to the Wrankiaw[2] Hassaman, viz:				
One damask piece, cost 24*s.* 4*d.*	00024	10		
Three sword-blades, cost 11*s.* 9*d.*, is mamoodies . . .	00012	00		
			0036	10
Given the weigher of Achin: one bafta white, of 63 mamodes per corge,[3] to do right in the weight of the iron			00003	05

			Mamodes.	Pice.
Presented to the Bishop of Achin[1] by Mr. Oxwicke as followeth:				
One fine bafta white, No. 24, cost mamodes . . .	028	00		
One comb-case, cost 4*s.* 8½*d.*, is mamodes	004	23		
			00032	23
The 14th May.				
Presented to the King of Achin by Mr. Oxwick as followeth:				
One fine bafta white, No. 33, cost mamodes . . .	036	00		
One looking-glass, No. 10, cost 30*s.*	030	00		
One damask piece, cost 24*s.* 4*d.*	024	09		
			0090	09
Given one of the King's Capados[2] by Mr. Oxwicke: one coarse white bafta of 50 mamodes per corge, cost			0002	16
The 22nd ditto.				
Presented to the King of Achin by Mr. Oxwick: one piece of white baftas fine, No. 23, and cost			0027	16
The 27th ditto.				
Given the gilder which did gild the King's letter to make haste in the gilding thereof: one bafta neale[3] given by Mr. Oxwick .			0002	24
The 31st ditto.				
Presented to the King of Achin by Mr. Oxwicke as followeth:				
One fine bafta, No. 30, cost .	034	18		
Two swords, cost 7*s.* 10*d.*, is mamodes	008	00		
			0042	18

			Mamodes.	Pice.
The first of June.				
Given the gentlemen which brought the King's letter, as a duty:				
Two fine baftas, No. 4 and No. 12, cost	025	00		
Two swords, cost 7*s.* 10*d.*, is mamodes	008	00		
			0033	00
The 9th ditto.				
Presented to the Wrankiaw Hassaman by Mr. Spaight and John Sandcroft: one white bafta, No. 24, cost			0028	08
The 10th ditto.				
Presented to the Wrankiaw Hassaman by Mr. Oxwicke: one fine bafta white, No. 28, cost			0032	16
Presented to the Wrankiaw Maraja by Mr. Oxwicke, as followeth:				
One fine bafta white, No. 29, cost	033	08		
One sword-blade cost . .	004	00		
			0037	08
Presented to the Wrankiaw Hetam by Mr. Oxwicke: one striped shash, which cost first penny			0030	00
Given the Dutch Ambassador by Mr. Oxwicke: one white bafta of 62½ mamodes per corge, is mamodes			0003	00
The 13th ditto.				
Presented to the Wrankiaw Hassaman by Mr. Spaight and John Sandcrofte as followeth:				
One fine bafta, No. 27, cost .	031	00		
One looking-glass, cost 9*s.* 6*d.* .	009	06		
			0040	06
The 15th ditto.				
Presented to the Sabandar of Achin: one comb-case, cost			0004	24

			Mamodes.	Pice.
The 16th ditto.				
Presented to the King of Achin by Mr. Spaight, as followeth:				
Two fine baftas white, No. 28 and No. 43, cost . . .	083	24		
Four swords, which cost 15*s.* 8*d.*	016	00		
All amounting to 99 mamodes 24 pice, ut supra			0099	24
The 20th ditto.				
Presented to the King of Achin by Mr. Spaight, as followeth:				
One fine bafta white, No. 27, cost	031	18		
Two sword-blades, cost 7*s.* 10*d.*	008	00		
All amounting to 39 mamodes 18 pice, ut supra			0039	18
Presented to the Wrankiaw Hetam by Mr. Aspinall and John Sandcroft, as followeth:				
One fine bafta white, No. 13, cost	013	09		
One comb-case, cost 4*s.* 8½*d.* is mamodes	004	20		
All amounting to 18 ma.			0018	00
The 21st ditto.				
Presented to the Ponlema[1] of Tecoo by Mr. Spaight and John Sandcroft, he being at Achin: one fine bafta white, No. 8, cost 12 mamodes 17 pice			0012	17
Given to the Dutch Ambassador: one coarse bafta white, of 54 mamodes per corge, for divers services done for us, cost . . .			0002	22
The 24th ditto.				
Given to the Wrankiaw Hassaman and the Sabandar: two sword-blades, to do us favour in the writing of the licence which the King gave us to trade at Priaman .			0008	00

	Mamodes.	Pice.
Given the King and the Wrankiaw Hassaman: maces[1] 1680 and 10 fowling-pieces, besides one anchor, a barrel of powder, and a piece of ordnance, to grant us license to trade at Priaman, Tecoo and Barouse, the pieces and maces amounting to . .	1895	00

The 27th ditto.

Given the Wrankiaw Maraja: 4 fine baftas white, Nos. 12, 13, 19 and 20, to assist us in our business and to help to procure our despatch, amounting to	0081	00

The 29th ditto.

Given the Captain of the Sea as a duty at the receipt of the King's letter of free trade: one bafta, No. 18, cost	0022	24

The first of July.

Given the Wrankiaw Hassaman: two fine baftas, No. 8 and No. 9, as a duty at the clearing of the Hector and for the chop at our going aboard	0026	17

Given the King's servants and the officers of the Custom House as a duty when the King's letter of free license was brought home and the Capado would not deliver the said letter until the said officers were satisfied; the particulars followeth:

To the scrivano[2] of the Custom House	080	00
To the Capado which brought the letter	056	00
To the King's Scrivano . .	040	00
To the four Sabandars at 80 mace per piece	320	00

			Mamodes.	Pice.
Given to the chief nailer	049	00		
To Hassaman's man	047	00		
To the second nailer	051	00		
To the three boojoons[1]	042	00		
To the Scrivanello of the Custom house	024	00		
To the Scrivan's servants	016	00		
To him that brought the chop	040	00		
To the two gentlemen that came with it	020	00		
To the Captain of the Castle	024	00		
All amounting to mace 809, ut supra, is mamodes			0809	00

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Arthur Spaight[2] to Nicholas Downton, or in his absence to Thos. Elkington, at Bantam.

From aboard of the Hector, this 18th of April, 1615, Achen Road.

WORSHIPFUL, my duty remembered. After my departure from you, being troubled with calms and some easterly winds, the 13th of April at night we had sight of the Island of Sumatra in the latitude of 5 degrees and 30 minutes, it being the point of the land of Achine, it being very high land with certain Islands lying north-west-northerly of the foresaid point, there being many of them and some five of them lying close to the foresaid point, yea so near that the 15th ditto I bore through between five small isles that lie close to the foresaid point, the gut being at the entrance

on the western side some half mile broad, and had 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 fathom and then no ground at 20 nor 30. From this entrance I steered N.E. between these five isles to the narrow gut that lieth on the eastern part of this channel, which gut I judge to be little more than a cable's length in breadth, having two steep points, one on the S.E. side, that is the forementioned land of Sumattra, the other on the N.W. side, which is a little isle, one of the five; and between them no ground at 30 fathom. Passing through this channel I met with a very strong tide running to the S.W., that with a fresh gale, having foresail and two topsails and topgallant sails with spritsail, right afore the wind I could hardly bear ahead against the tide; and coming near to the narrow gut could hardly steer the ship against the tide; so that I was forced to take in the maintopsail and gallant sails and to cond[1] her right upon the tide and withal let her fall astern with the tide to spend the time till the tide did break, and when it began to break or slack then I bore through at pleasure. This I was fain to do, being fearful of our ship's steerage against that strong tide in so narrow a gut, and being got through, about one of the clock I had sight of a junk that rode in the road of Achen, the which bore from that narrow gut E. and by N. So I came to an anchor in seven fathom water, the eastern point of the Isle of Sumattra bearing E.N.E. and a round hill called Pedeer bore S.E. and by E.; an isle called Pulo Wye[2] bearing the one end N.N.W., the other end of it N.N.E., and the northernmost point of the isles, being 13 in number small and great, bore N.W. by W. some 5 leagues off this road, lying in 5° 40′ of latitude and variation 6° 25′. Thus arriving in the road of Achen in good safety the 15th of April about two of the clock in the afternoon. God be glorified for it. Amen. You shall understand that Mr. Salloes[3] presently after my departure from you began to droop and fell sick with a lowness of body, and the 31st of March died. That day a boy of mine called Rowland Wolldreth fell sick of the flux and the 6th day after he died. And at present we have two sick of the same infirmity; God grant them their health again, if it be His will and pleasure.

Your Worship shall understand that at our arrival the King of Achine was abroad some twenty leagues from the town; where-

upon it was agreed that Mr. Oxwecke with Mr. Jucksonn should go with our King's letter and your present, for that it was uncertain whether the King would return to Achine in a month or not. Up the river in two days they may be at Court; so that we hope that in six or eight days Mr. Oxweck will return. Till then there will be little or nothing done. The King hath engrossed all the pepper into his hands, as the report goeth, and the Protector or Governor and the Sabendare are his merchants; so that at return of our courtiers we shall understand the King's pleasure. Iron is very much inquired after, for that the King is building of galleys and preparing to go for Mallacka, and is in great want of iron; so that we hope there will be some good done therein. Our people are very kindly entertained; but with a beggarly kind of people, nothing to be done without presents.

Here are three Flemings settled; and there went from this road some twenty days before our arrival a ship of theirs that came from Bantam. She is gone for Musallapatan, and (as they said) returneth for this place. Here at present rideth a junk of Aracan that brought rice and cotton wool with cotton cloth.

Your Worship shall understand that Mr. Oxwecke doth not change with the air, as I had thought he would; but now being a courtier he begins to show his Barroche humours.[1] He doth deny to let me either see or have the copy of the invoice; neither will he by any means that I shall have any insight in their buying and selling at town, nor so much as to have a sight of their accounts, alleging that I have nothing more to do but with the Court business, wherewith he will acquaint me at full. Some two days before I came into the road I did demand to have the copy of the invoice, whereupon he went unto Mr. Sandcrafte to confer about it, whether they might with a safe conscience or not deliver it to me; to whom Mr. Sandcrafte answered that he thought they might not without breach of their oath made to Sir Thomas Smithe and Company at their making free; the which set Mr. Oxwecke agog, that presently with a great oath he swore that I should not have it; whereupon the 15th ditto I being by a wile drawn down into the great cabin to dinner (whereas in former time we did dine under the half deck), and having dined Mr. Oxwecke began to tell me that the other day I did ask him for

the copy of the invoice. I answered I did, and would gladly have it, the better to inform myself of the prices of the goods that were to be vented at Achen, for that if I knew not what the goods cost how should I know how to give my consent in the sales of them; whereupon he did answer that it was not fit for me to know any such matter and that per your commission I had neither authority to give my consent in neither buying nor selling; further saying that they all were of that opinion at the board, there being himself, Mr. Sandcrafte, Mr. Aspenall and Mr. Juckson. Mr. Sandcrafte was of that opinion and Mr. Juckson; so that Mr. Aspenall only was of the opinion that it was requisite that I should have it. We being near the road, I could not stay to end this controversy, but was forced to go up to bring the ship to an anchor in the road. Afterwards Mr. Sandcrafte came up into my cabin and brought the copy of his oath he took at home, by which oath I found that he was only sworn to keep all the secrets of the Worshipful Governor and Company and their deputies. So that when I had read it and told him and proved by good reasons that it would be no breach of his oath, for that your Worship was, as I thought, the Governor and Company's absolute deputy, and that in following your order he should not break his oath; yet all this would not satisfy him. Then I did tell him that you gave me order by word of mouth that if Mr. Oxwecke denied me the copy of any writings given him, that then Mr. Sandcrafte should give me them; whereat he made a pause, and told me that he had not the copy of the invoice, yet in the end he told me if that I would give three or four lines with my hand to it to show that I had that order per word of mouth from you that then he would for quietness sake give me the foresaid copy, the which I told him I would do. Thus for that time we parted; and this night we all resolved that Mr. Sandcrafte and Mr. Aspenall should in the morning go up to the town to know the state of the country; who went the next morning and were very kindly entertained, and there did hire them a house of the Sabandar, who came aboard the morning before they went to the town and brought a present of coconuts and mangoes and went up to the town with our boat. This night Mr. Sandcrafte and Mr. Aspenall sent a letter down that they were kindly entertained and that Mr. Oxwecke with the

rest might come up with our King's letter and present. So that night all things was set in order against the morning. Then I did move Mr. Oxwecke for the copy of the invoice, but he peremptorily returned me this answer, that I should not have it at his hands. So I, for that I would not disturb or breed a contrast[1] at the first, was content to forbear till further opportunity, the which I fear shall not be wanting of his part. Thus he went ashore with all the greatness that I could devise—not in respect of himself, you may assure yourself, but in respect of our King's Majesty's letter that he carried.

Further your Worship shall understand that the 18th ditto I sent my long boat with 15 tons of cask to fill water up at the town, in which boat Mr. Sandcrafte came down aboard that night, where he and I had many words about this former copy, but all in love and kindness; only he sought to have had my handwriting as aforesaid, to which I did answer him that I had better bethought myself, and many reasons me thereunto moving, and especially one was that in respect I had just proof that his backing of Mr. Oxwecke against me at the first was the cause that made him so peremptory and that now it was not to be looked for other at his hands; in regard of which I told him plainly that I would give him no writing of my hand, and if that he would give me the foresaid copy and also make me privy to all business passing ashore, as per your own mouth you gave me order, that therein he should do well; and if he would not so do, it would in the end light heavy on his back. These speeches somewhat did move him, whereat he pausing a little replied that indeed at his being aboard of the Solomon with your Worship that there yourself did entreat him both to give a copy of all writings if in case Mr. Oxweck denied me; and also he confessed that you willed him to acquaint me with all matters passing at town, the which he promised to do, and would now perform it. I told him that it was well if he did so; thus at present we rest loving friends. Howsoever there shall be no neglect in the performance of our affairs, God willing. They have this day taken some four corge of several sorts of baftas, birams and candekens ashore for a sample, for that divers are desirou s to see Cheppen.[2]

Thus most humbly I take my leave, committing you in all your affairs to the protection of the Almighty, to whom, as duty bindeth me, I do and will most heartily pray for your good success. Vale.

Your Worship's in all humble duty to command,
Arthur Spaight.

I most humbly entreat you to commend me unto Mr. Marrten Prine,[1] Mr. Thomas Elkentone and the rest of my good friends.

Addressed: To the Worshipful Nicholas Downton, General of the Zurratt fleet, give this, or, in his absence, to Mr. Thomas Elkenton, Captain of the English house at Bantam, in Bantam.

Endorsed: Arthur Spaight's letter written from Achin Road unto Captain Downton at Bantam, dated 18 April, 1615.

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A Court of merchants held in Sciam, the 20th of April anno 1615, by John Gourney,[2] chief merchant of the Ninth Voyage, with William Sheppard[3] and Thomas Brockedon,[4] factors also of the said voyage, and assisted by Mr. Lucas Anthonison,[5] cape merchant of the Globe.

UPON the increase of business in Potania (Patani) for the account of the Ninth Voyage and the difficulty in performance thereof, Adam Denton[6] being alone there without sufficient assistance: Imprimis, the said Court, having had consideration of the premisses, have upon their good liking made choice of Thomas Brockedon to go and join with the said Adam Denton for the better securing of their estate and performance of those affairs in manner and form following:

Item, It is ordered that the said Adam Denton and Thomas Brockedon shall proceed in the said business of the said Voyage in Potania as joint companions, and no one thing appertaining to

the business of the said Voyage to be done without the knowledge, practice and consent of both the said Adam Denton and Thomas Brockedon jointly, reserving the said Adam Denton to be president in any matter of council.

Item, We ordain that the said Thomas Brockedon shall keep the books of account and cash, both great and small, and that Adam Denton keep the counterbooks of all, that the Company may be the better satisfied concerning all the proceedings there; and for the better accomplishment that there be forthwith an inventory taken of all the moneys, goods and debts in the house and appertaining to the said business, and to confer the same with the invoices, whereby it may appear in what estate the accounts standeth; and that the said Thomas Brockedon do forthwith upon his arrival in Patania take a copy of the journal, household charges and letters already written for Bantam or other places.

Item, That all letters or other writings of advice concerning the said business be perused by both, without delaying by one from the other.

Item, Forasmuch as Adam Denton certified of false cloth and deceitful colours of the goods at Potania belonging to this business,[1] we do ordain that you, Adam Denton and Thomas Brockedon, do forthwith peruse the same, and having taken true notice of their faults and also the extraordinary shortness of certain white betheeles which he reports to be amongst the rest; and the same being truly perused, according to the letter of Mr. Gourney, that then by the first conveyance to certify the truth to us at Sciam. And finding the Sallampoories faulty, not able to endure any long time, that then you both shall practise to despatch as the present market shall require, although at a lower rate; and failing of expedition, and finding the Caugee[2] to be dangerous for delay, that then you procure some of the sound ones to be washed, and trial made that way for vent and preservation; and finding yet the market dead, that then you send them to Sciam by the first good means, as all [also?] send such brown Procallis, brown Sallampouries, brown beteeles, marravenies, boxshaws, woven sawayes and painted sawayes and coarse Gingams,[3] as that market cannot despatch for reasonable profit and in time convenient.

Item, Forasmuch that it is very convenient to sort our return with some benjamin and a small quantity of cardamomon, camboja and laqua,[1] and there being sometimes means thereby to pass away red yarn and red betheeles, which have slow sales by you, we order that you practise to deal with Noccada[2] Sanqua or some other reputed honest man that useth to make voyages for Camboia, to make some such bargain with them as. Mr. Floris did in his time, the copies of whose contracts you have herewith from Mr. Lucas; and not to stand upon a small difference for performance. And we should be glad to hear that you have passed away in red yarn and red beteeles to the value of 2,000 rials, and more 1,000 rials in any other of your commodity fit for Camboja required by those with whom you deal. And also, if you shall find by advice that of the remainder of your goods there shall be of the same that do promise profit by trading for Jambin,[3] that then, finding reputed honest men with whom to deal, you stick not to adventure for such a value as ye shall think good. But in all the said proceedings of adventure that you have a special care to make choice of the best men of that faculty with whom ye deal.

Item, That there be care had to preserve the goods under your custody from fire, water, dust, worms, or any other thing that may endamage it, remembering that Potania is subject to those inconveniences.

Item, That there be good government in the house, observing due times of common prayer, that servants be kept from disorderly gadding to rack-houses etc.; and that the gates be shut in due time and not opened after night, unless it be for special business hereunto appertaining; and if servants prove unruly, not attending the watch and such service as they are bound unto, that then there be inflicted upon them such punishment as is usual in those cases.

Item, That whereas the servants make suit for a third of their wages, we, finding by the Company's orders or articles no power thereunto, do refuse to yield to their motion, but for necessary apparel, such as may fit the quality of servants, and no more to be allowed them.

Item, Whereas it is necessary that the goods which we expect

from Potania shall need to be accompanied with some person of our nation, that therefore John Johnson come along with the same.

Lucas Antheuniss. John Gourney.
Will. Sheppard.
Thomas Brockedon.

Endorsed: A Court in Syam.

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Proceedings of a Court held in Siam, April 21st, 1615.

WHEREAS as well by me hereunder written here in Sciam as by Peeter Willimson Floris in Potania, both principal merchants of the Seventh Voyage, have been constrained, to perform our business with the more security and to preserve the goods belonging to the said Voyage so far forth as might be from fire, thieves and other accidents, to fall into heavy charges and extraordinary expenses, as well in Potania as here in Sciam, for making provision of good and sufficient houses, which are not here to be procured in this land except men make them themselves, and that with great difficulties and giving of presents: there is a plot of ground procured by Peeter Willimson Floris in Potania of the Queen there, and hath built a house thereon which cost 58 tayll, 9 mace and one cupan,[1] and the extraordinary present given the Queen, 39 tayle, 9 mace and one cupan, is in all 98 taylle, 2 mace and 2 cupanns, the taylle being at that time 14 rials is 1,374 rials, as appeareth by the balance of the said Peeter Flores sent: I, hereunder written, at my coming here in Syam gave a present with the letters of His Majesty unto the King, esteemed according to the ordinary market at that time in Sciam money of 263 taylle 2 mace 2½ cupan, in recompense whereof was given me an old ruined brick house or godung[2] with a sufficient plot of ground lying

convenient for the business that happen here. Whereupon, having regard in my judgment of [if ?] our masters do continue their trade for Masulpatann and Coremandell will not take end by my coming, wherefore without delay I took the said godung and, as a man would say, reared it up anew with no small difficulty, workmen being here so hard to be gotten, wherefore all things fall out costly and chargeable. There is spent in the said reparation, as in making other houses to lodge the people and to raise the ground, extraordinarily Ta. 776 o 3½, as appeareth at large in the book kept of particulars of the charges. And because I daily make preparation to depart for Potania, I have required of Mr. John Gourney, principal of the Ninth Voyage, to make me satisfaction for our moneys disbursed as well here as in Potania, being he proceedeth in the ship the James by order of the Company according to the designs of our Voyage, and the cargazon by him unladen as well here as in Potania doth exceed that of the Globe a quarter in value. Nevertheless, I have not farther required of him than to contribute half of the charges laid out, not overcharge their Voyage too much, and do as well defer the charges that I require of him as the rest wherewith the Seventh Voyage remaineth charged, with the want of employment of the said money now two and a half years towards the Coast with the Globe, to the discretion of the Right Worshipful Governor and Company our masters. In the meantime any of the Seventh and Ninth Voyage being in Sciam or Potania shall procure other ships coming for other Voyages to contribute unto the charges of purchase and building their said godungs and houses, and that so long until the Company at home ordaineth otherwise, which contribution shall come to the benefit of both the said Voyages; but if the said John Gourney with his assistants, being William Shephard and Thomas Brockedon, shall refuse to yield to the abovesaid motion, I hereunderwritten do declare plainly to sell the said gudung and houses to the benefit of the Seventh Voyage for the defraying of the great charge I have been at. In witness whereof I have hereunder subscribed.

Lucas Anthonison.

Dated in Siam
the 21st of April 1615.

A Court held by us, John Gourney, cape merchant of the Ninth Voyage, with William Sheppard and Tho. Brockedon, concerning the motion abovewritten made by Lucas Anthonison, cape merchant of the Seventh Voyage, being concerning the charges of purchasing [and ?] building of a godonge and houses for the East India Company, made by the said Lucas Anthonison and Peeter Willyamson Floris in Potania and here in Sciam.

We have therefore considered of the necessity of the godung and houses for the harbouring of men and goods and managing of the said trade, and being the said Lucas Anthonison requireth the moiety of the said charges to be paid presently, refusing to stay and abide the award of the Worshipful East India Company in England first, threatening, as appeareth, that if we refuse to contribute according to his motion, to make sale of the said godong to the benefit of the Seventh Voyage and to leave us frustrate of means to preserve the goods under hands in places destitute of remedy: We therefore, to avoid a greater inconvenience, have agreed to yield to such disbursements, leaving the full determination thereof to the Worshipful in England.

John Gurney.
Wm. Shephard.
Thomas Brockedon.

Endorsed: Copy of a Court held in Syam about buildings to be divided.

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John Jourdain to Richard Wickham at Firando.

In Jacatra, the 12th of May, 1616.[1]

LOVING Friend Mr. Wickham, My commendations being remembered etc. My last unto you was by Mr. Yeowart,[2] cape merchant of the Advice, the which I hope you have received long since, wherein I briefly wrote you of our proceedings in Bantam, since which time here is arrived these two ships the Clove and the Defence out of England;

and for that here is great scarcity of pepper and our debitors failing with us and our money short that we cannot provide their lading this year, and therefore by order from the Honourable Company we have sent them for the Mollucas to see what good is there to be done; of the which the bearer hereof can advise you, doubting much that we shall have some bickering with our overthwart friends the Hollanders, for they do threaten us very much if they meet us at Banda or the Malucas.

Copy sent per the Thomas.

Now for the business of Japan, the Honourable Company hath great hopes of store of silver from thence and that it may be brought to the fineness of rials of eight with four per cent. loss, as General Saris hath informed the Company at home, which is one of the chiefest reasons that the Company doth not send much money this way, hoping to have it from thence in ingots, as I wrote to Mr. Cocks, not doubting but you will do your best endeavours to perform the Company's desire, for had we store of ingots at the height of rials, we should put them away, as also make them into rials hereafter if they will not pass in bars.

The Gift departed into England the 22nd of December laden with pepper, some cloves, mace, nuts and some 50 chests of silks of all sorts. The Lord send her well. So I am like to stay until the next year, at which time I do not doubt but I shall have order from the Honourable Company to go for our country, as also news of the augmenting of your salary, having written to them in your behalf; and I doubt not of your endeavours in the Company's service, which in so doing you will be gratefully rewarded at their hands, as they are accustomed to all those that do deserve it.

Thus not having else at present, I leave you to the Lord's protection, who bless us all and send us a good meeting in our country. I end and rest

Your loving friend to use.

Bantam the 29th of May anno 1616.[1]

Loving Friend Mr. Wickham, This former letter I sent per the Thomas pro via Mallucas, since which time the Advice is

returned from Pottany and Siam, not being able to get Jappon by reason of the monson being near ended before her departure from Bantam. Also the 22nd of March here arrived the Osiander in safety, God be thanked; by whom I received your letters, with the things you sent by Mr. Copendall as well for a present as other, and the rest I have taken into my hands and sent by his order the return. I took it myself because it would not yield ready money, and I do allow you as much as it is here worth, or rather more than at present will be gotten ready money; which I have done to pleasure you, because a short return with little gain is better than to have it lie here until another year, as Mr. Coppendall will advise you at large thereof, to which I refer me, etc.

And as for news out of England I will not be over tedious, because the bearer hereof will at large acquaint you with all matters, not having any fresh news more than what came the last year by the Clove; hoping that shortly we shall have a new supply out of England, otherwise we shall be in very bad case; for by the information of Captain Saris to the Honourable Company they have been so sparing in sending of money in the last fleets that there is scarce a penny in none of the factories, they depending upon the great profit and stock of Jappan and other places to be sent in money to Bantam, as per other letters may appear. I do not know whether the Company hath written you anything concerning your salary in these last ships; which if they hath not, I do not doubt but that in the next you shall have their answer. Therefore I would wish you to stay there until the next ships or the coming of Captain Keelling, being very sorry that there should be any jarring betwixt Mr. Cocks and you, which ought to be a comfort the one to the other. We look for General Keelling hither in November next from Achin, where he remaineth with the Dragon and Peppercorn, and sent hither the Expedition to fetch money to lade her with pepper at Tecoo; so she is departed hence the 19th ditto with 8,000 rials in commodities in lieu of money, for I remain here indebted for the custom of pepper 7,000 rials, but I hope that the General will bring at least two of his ships laden with pepper from Achin and Tecoo, he having taken three ships of Portingalls[1] laden with provision

for the Manillia and Goa fleet, which I hope will be a good furtherance to his voyage.

Here is like to be wars this year betwixt the Matran[1] and this King, the Mattran beginning to make way through the mountains by land and a fleet by sea. As also we doubt much of the Spanish fleet to be here this year to put us from Bantam. God knoweth the event.

Thus not having any goodness at present to requite your kindness until the next, I leave you to the Lord's protection, who bless us all. Amen.

Your loving friend,
John Jourdain.

I have sent your full return and 11 rials over, which I have given order to Mr. Cocks to receive of you at sight, which I pray pay him. Vale.

Addressed: To my very loving friend Mr. Richard Wickham, merchant, be this dd. at Ferando in Jappon. Per the Advice, who God preserve.

No endorsement.

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ARTICLES exhibited by us John Sancroft, Edmond Aspinall, and Samuell Juxon to Mr. Arther Spaight, commander of the Hector, against Mr. John Oxwick.[2] In Acheene, the 10th of June 1615, as viz:

Imprimis, That whereas since his being in Peedere he did not entreat anything for Priaman and Tecoo till the 4th of June and one other time before, which was a month or 25 days past, but only an answer to our King's letter and custom free.

Secondly, That about the 5th of this present, he having conference with the King, he demanded licence or leave of his Majesty to have our despatch to go for Priaman and Tecoo; his Majesty demanded what to do; Mr. Oxwick answered: to buy pepper as cheap as we could in the busser[3]; the King answered

there was pepper enough here: let him buy that first, and when he hath so done his Majesty would talk further with him.

Thirdly, The King told Mr. Oxwick that if he had used him and his people well he would have given him our despatches long since, but now, saith he, you shall stay till my uncle come down out of the mountains; and was exceeding angry with the said Oxwick, and told him that Acheene was not beholden to us but we to Acheene.

Fourthly, Mr. Sancroft and Mr. Aspenall being at the custom house, and having reckoned and despatched business with the Orancaia Laxaman and having given him content, the said Orancaia said: these are merchants that I would deal withal: if Mr. Oxwicke had been so conformable as these men the English had been despatched long since.

Fifthly, [*torn*] his linguist, which daily accompanieth him to the King, hath given in [*torn*] grievances in writing, which both tend to the dishonour [*torn*] disgrace of the English nation and prejudice of the Honourable Company by the idle [*torn*] of the said Oxwicke, as more plainly appeareth in the said writing under the hand of the said linguist Peeter Lorense.[1]

Sixthly, That about the 8th present the master, Arthur Spaight, being entreated by the said Sancroft and Aspenall to go with them to the said Orancaia, who had desire to see them, and that he had divers times sent for the said Sancroft and Aspenall to come unto him, but they putting it off till the master's coming ashore, went all three together with the said linguist to the said Orancaia, who admitted us to his presence, entertained us kindly, and being with him entreated his counsel [and] furtherance in our despatch and that we were ready to pleasure him with what our s[hip] could afford; upon which words he desired 4 or 5 bahars of iron, which we yielded unto; and farther advice was that Mr. Oxwick should go no more to the Court, saying [he] was a man *mucha ruen*;[2] whereupon being demanded what course should be ta[ken], he answered: let the master go to the King, and with good words we might obt[ain our] desire; with bad words never.

Seventhly, Within a few days after the coming of the King to Acheene his Majesty sent to the English house that the English

should go to the Orancaia Laxaman to talk with him about the iron, the which Mr. Oxwicke refused to do, saying [he would ?] talk with the King. So the next day came one of the Orancaia's servants [and ?] told Mr. Sancroft the King was ready to speak with Mr. Oxwicke about the price [of] the iron. He answered: when his Majesty pleased, he would come. The messenger called us and we went to the custom-house. There he told us that we must go to the Court, and I, John Sancroft, stayed behind. Mr. Oxwick called me to go with him; so we went together half way, discoursing of business and the good of the Company; but Mr. Oxwick gave me the lie two or three times and then challenged me the field, the which I had accepted; he went home, left the Company's business with the King and having [*torn*] and gave me many other ill words, which was done in the presence of Petro Lorense his linguist.

Eighthly, Mr. Oxwick being with the King, the King demanded if he would do him the favour to let him have a thousand tale of iron. Mr. Oxwick said he would. For how much the baharre, the King said. Quoth Mr. Oxwick: for eight tayle the baharre. The King said it was too much, but offered five tayle, as he said he bought of General Best.[1] Mr. Oxwick replied: I will not sell it under eight tayle the baharr, but if his Majesty would not give eight tayle, let him let it alone; at which the King was very angry that Mr. Oxwicke should use him with such harsh words.

Ninthly, I, Samuel Juxon, do here declare that the 19th May 1615, or thereabout, that John Oxwicke abused me by most base and vile words and struck me twice or thrice on the face until the blood gushed out of my nostrils, and challenged me the field, in the presence of Edmond Aspenall and Roberte Johnson.

Subscribed per us whose names are hereunder written.

John Sancroft.
Edmond Aspenall.
Samuel Juxon.

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Nicholas Bangham[1] to the East India Company.

Laus Deo in the road of Salldanyea, aboard the Lion, this 18th of June 1615.

RIGHT Honourable and Right Worshipful, As my duty bindeth me, in these few lines I shall in brief give you to understand of our safe passage from England unto this place, in which time there hath passed amongst us but few businesses of import, whereby I shall not need to fill up many lines with relation thereof, but such as it hath been I will briefly run it over, because time will not give me leave to write more large for want of better matter.

The 6th of March we lost the sight of England and the 14th of April we passed the line, in which time there fell out some discontents between Thomas Barwike[2] and Captain Harris,[3] insomuch that our General,[4] with the consent of his council, was forced for the good of the business to separate them; so that Thomas Barrwik was placed master of the Lion and John Courtise[5] put in to be master of the Peppercorn. Our ship hath been the best sailer in our fleet, but she hath been somewhat leaky and weak; but God be thanked she is now more tight, and I hope she will prove a good ship. The 5th of this present we came into this place, all our four ships in good prosperity and as safe a passage as ever ships had. God make us thankful. In our ship we had not one man sick all this voyage, nor in the rest of the ships but few; only the Dragon, she had some twenty men sick at our coming in, but, God be thanked, they be reasonably recovered. In our ship we have had much bad bread, and such as hath been baked a long time, and so bad that it is not fit for men to eat. In this place we found letters left here by the James and Globe and the two small pinnaces,[6] which departed this place nineteen days before our coming into this place. Here we have had good refreshing. In this time of our being here, there fell out some discontents between Captain Harris and his cape merchant, Robert Gibes,[7] the occasion being very small, as of common courtesy, Captain Harris telling Mr. Gibes that he did of duty owe him to put off his hat as of duty, the which Mr. Gibes

refused to do in that kind, but as one man to another in civil courtesy. Captain Harris, not being content with this, would have him acknowledge it as duty, and complained to our General to have something effected to his own mind; but our General would not of himself, but called a council to have the cause decided between them, there being great spleen between them; when there was many repetitions on both sides, and in the end made friends with some discontent to Captain Harris, for he would have had the cape merchant to bind to him as his servants. I could wish that your Worships' servants might be better respected than at present they are, for the Captains do assume unto themselves much power of them, and all in the ships is for him; but I know it is contrary to your pleasures. Our commons are very short; as for my own part in this point I think I am much neglected, for I am allowed no more than the swabber of the ship; and yet I see that there is better, and I do think it is your pleasures that it should be better than it is. But I do arm myself with patience, hoping that the time will be short; in the meantime I have somewhat of my own which shall content me, but I could wish it better. The fault is somewhere, as your Worships may well conceive.

We have had in our ship much loss in our quicksilver. It hath been badly put up for so long a passage, it being in nothing but skins and dry barrel, the which skins did rot in the ship's hold and then the quicksilver got out and run about our ship; so that I fear there will be great loss thereof, besides the hurt that it may do the ship. But now I have new packed it into stone bottles, which is the best means that I have in this place; and I would advise your Worships when you send of this commodity that you would send it more better made up, or else it will be to your great loss. We have also in our ship a pack of cony-skins which hath taken some hurt in the hold, the which I have amended as well as I can. They are all black skins and such as will not vent in those parts, the colour being black; if any other colour, haply they might have sold. Our cloth and all our other goods are as yet in good case.

Since our coming into this place there hath been some occasions found against Mr. Cradell, some of them being dishonest

towards your Worship; for which faults he is put out of place and Thomas Bonner put in his place as master of the Expedition, and Cradell one of the master's mates of the Dragon.[1]

My Lord Ambassador is in good health, and I hope he will new re-edify your business at Sarratt and prove a worthy man for the good of his country and your Worships' affairs.

The 17th of this present we weighed anchor, hoping to have got out; but the wind was contrary, so we came to anchor again one mile out of this road. And the same night came into this bay the good ship the Hope,[2] which came from Surratt, of whom we had much news which doth give us good encouragement to our business, although it is like to be with sore trouble.[3]

We have left ashore in this place nine of our condemned men,[4] and the rest were kept to leave anywhere where occasion should present. And so with my continual prayers to the Lord for all your happiness in all your proceedings, I rest with all dutiful service that I can,

Nicholas Banggam.

Post scriptum.—I am to entreat your Worships that you would be pleased to be a gardener unto my small stock left in your hands at my coming away, and that it may run on in account until I shall return or that it please God other ways to dispose of me. My desire is that when my division shall be, either of money or goods, that my proportion do all remain in your Worships' hands until you shall hear further from me, and that it be no way diminished, but run in account till my return. So that if your Worships will be pleased to do me this favour I shall always be bound to pray to the Lord for all your happiness in all your proceedings, and will rest still, with all my endeavours to your Worships' service to the uttermost of my power,

Your Worships' ancient servant,

Nicholas Banggam.

Addressed: To the Right Honourable and Right Worshipful the Governor and Company of East India Merchants of London dd. this.

Endorsed: Nicholas Bangham from Saldania, 18 June, 1615. Desiring Sir Thomas Smith to manage his stock in adventure.

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At Achein, the 23rd of June 1615.

THE Hector and the Thomas being here accidentally met together,[1] it is by the merchants of the Thomas called in question which of the ships is fittest to work out her lading upon the coast of Sumatra, it being acknowledged that the Hector coming directly from Suratt is laden with goods that will do the Company service at any time hereafter, whereas those aboard the Thomas are so defective that they will hardly last the carrying to Bantam. To resolve this question each of us have set down our opinions under our hands, viz :

For my opinion, I think it fitting that the Hector should proceed in her voyage for Pryaman etc., for reasons which afterward we shall allege.

Robt. Johnson.

Also I, Samuell Juxon, do allege that I hold it not expedient that the Hector should leave off her voyage and proceed directly for Bantam as is pretended by the merchants of the Thomas; for because we have now our despatch or free grant for trade at Priaman, Tecoo etc., the effecting whereof hath cost great charges and much labour, and the Thomas may also very well spend two months time, as also much bribes, before her despatch may be procured. And whereas it is by the said merchants of the Thomas alleged that their goods are defective and will not last the carrying to Bantam, I hold it needful that part of the said goods may be sent aboard the Hector, and we to do our endeavours at the places aforesaid as with the goods which be brought from Suratt; part also may be left here in Acheen, which may turn to profit; and with part may they barter with the King for pepper, namely their iron. And so by consequence the Thomas rather than the Hector I hold most fitting to relinquish the voyage, and to return directly for Bantam.

Samuel Juxon.

The Hector having the King's free pass for our free trade at Pryaman etc. on this coast, although to the great charges of our Honourable employers, therefore I hold it fitting that she should proceed upon her pretended voyage. For the Thomas, she having made her proceedings known and no recall can be made for the delivery of the King's letter and presents, I hold it therefore fitting she should endeavour to get part of her lading here; which for her iron and part other goods, I think 400 baharrs of pepper is here to be had, and for sale of part of her goods may here also be made; which sale and goods bought, I farther think it fit that she should go for Barrowse, Pryaman and Tecoo, there to make sale of the residue and to get the rest of their lading there. This is my opinion, for such reasons as herewithal I give you.

Edmond Aspinall.

Whereas it is demanded which of the ships it is fittest to work out her lading upon the coast of Sumatra, to which I answer the Hector, having the King's commandment for free trade on this coast, which doth cost dear the procuring thereof, and the Thomas may stay here two months or more before she doth obtain that which we have procured; and therefore I hold it not fitting that the Hector do relinquish her voyage for Pryaman, Tecoo etc. And whereas it is alleged that the Thomas her goods is so defective that they will hardly last the carrying to Bantam, therefore some part thereof may be left here and be sold to good profit; some part taken into the Hector and sold upon this coast as the time will permit for the good of the Company; the rest the Thomas may put away as she may at some place where those sorts of goods are vendible. And for the Thomas she may get here at Achein 100 tons of pepper in circa; and for the rest of her lading it may be procured at some other place.

John Sandcroft.

Whereas the 27th dicto the merchants of the Thomas desired our resolute answer to their writings given us the 23rd dicto, we gathered ourselves together, each man writing his opinion, as appeareth. I also hold it fitting that the Hector having obtained

licence of the King of Achein for free trading at Pryaman, Tecoo and Barowse, that she proceed in her pretended voyage. And whereas they allege that their goods are so badly conditioned they will hardly endure the carriage back to Bantam, therefore some part thereof may be put aboard the Hector, and some part left at Achein, and no doubt some part may be put away by them in Achein, where they may with their iron and fine goods no doubt procure some 400 baharrs of pepper that at an instant is to be sold in Achein. Thus for the present.

Furthermore, Whereas the merchants of the Thomas do allege the weakness of their ship by plank and timber, it is not unknown by them that are now employed in the Hector that her weakness far exceeds the Thomas, both in weakness of timber and planks, as also having been battered by the enemy [1] and extremely eaten by the worm and continually are resident eating in her, as may apparently appear to the sight of all men.[2] Whereas the merchants of the Thomas do allege that by the trading of the Gogeratts [3] and Chineses in the parts of Pryaman, Tecoo and Barowse we shall be much hindered in our pretended voyage, it is absolutely known to all nations whatsoever trading in the dominions of Achein that without special licence from his Majesty granted neither Gogerat, Chinese nor what nation soever can be admitted trade in the aforesaid parts to our knowledge.

Arthur Spike.[4]

In Achein the 29th June 1615.

Whereas a consultation held the day abovesaid and the reasons of the merchants of the Hector and the Thomas given in in writing, it is agreed upon that the Hector should proceed to Tecoo and Pryaman etc. according to the King's free licence granted before the Thomas her arrival here; and there to buy, sell and barter to the best benefit of the Honourable Company. And if the Thomas do procure the establishing of a factory at Tecoo and Pryaman, or either the said places, that then the Hector do relinquish her voyage and go for Bantam to procure the rest of her lading, assisting the Thomas with merchants and goods if they require the same. But if the Thomas do not

procure the establishing of a factory as aforesaid that then the Thomas shall leave the trade to the Hector and seek her lading elsewhere.

John Millwarde.	Arthur Speike.
Wm. Nicolls.	John Sandcroft.
John Yeates.	Edmond Aspinall.
John Parsons.	Samuell Juxon.
	Robt. Johnson.

Endorsed: A Council by the Hector and Thomas merchants in Acheine.

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Consultations by the merchants of the Thomas.

WHEREAS by the merciful providence of God we are safely arrived at Achein and find here the Hector, one of the Honourable Company's ships, laden with goods from Surratt, who by means of distraction amongst themselves and distaste given the King have with long time and great charge obtained of his Majesty that the Hector shall trade at Tecoo and Pryaman for the space of eight months, provided that the King's goods be there sold, which exception we fear will procure such delay that the time will be expired before they be able to perform any business and so they must depart without their lading; seeing by their own confession they are to leave a pledge at Achein for the performance of that condition, we, the merchants of the Thomas, considering the inconvenience that may redound to the Honourable Company by this means, and the discredit of our nation by leaving a pledge (as though we were so disordinate that without such engagement the King might be much damnified) have fully agreed to attempt the settling of a Factory at Achein, which will yield a great possibility of profit to the Company, considering the Gogeratts bring no goods thither as they were wont to do,[1]

whereby the town is utterly unfurnished; and likewise to procure two or three years' trade at Tecoo and Pryaman, that so the Company's ships coming from Surratt may have means to vend their goods without such trouble and charge as formerly. For the effecting whereof we have thought fit to give unto the King of Achein together with the King of England's letter these presents underwritten; and to his nobility and officers such presents as the necessity of the business and their place may require.

The King's first present.

Six fine blue baftas, 10 sword-blades, 12 fowling-pieces, 2 barrels of powder, one great gun alias saker,[1] with the carriage, ladle, scourer, with 20 great shot.

The King's second present.

One suit of apparel of red velvet, Portugal fashion, which he desired to have.[2]

The King's third present.

One fine blue bafta and a case of knives containing twelve.

John Millward.
Wm. Nicolls.
John Yeates.

Achein the 30th [June] 1615.

July the 21st anno 1615.

Whereas this place is well known to our English nation to be a place of great exaction and that we cannot effect anything without great presents and bribes, especially to certain of the nobility (as the example of the Hector before our eyes, as also others, have taught us), and in consideration of the great charge that our ship is at every day, and in regard the effecting of our business will admit no delays because of the King's sudden departure from hence: we have determined by a Council held this present to give unto the King and Laxaman etc. as here following appeareth.

To the King.

One cable and anchor with a minion,[1] ladle, and scourer, 20 great shot and a barrel of powder, according to the King's demand, and to confirm our trade at Tecoo for two years.

To Laxaman for procuring of the said trade, limiting the charges of the officers and for effecting our despatch within 14 days, to Laxaman, we say, given on the said conditions . . . . 70 tayle

To the customers for their fees set down by Laxaman	30
To Laxaman's man to solicit our business .	05
To the eunuch that brought the King's letter for Tecoo	05
To the clerk that writ the said letter . .	02
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John Millward.
Wm. Nicolls.
John Yeates.

Endorsed: Presents given in Achein by the merchants of the Thomas to the King.

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Laus Deo in Achin, the 3rd of July 1615.

A remembrance given our loving friends Mr. Samuell Juxon and Mr. Wm. Nicolls, merchants, to remain in Achin, as in this commission more largely appeareth.

LOVING Friends, Our hearty commendations remembered unto you, with desire of your good healths and prosperity to the pleasure of Almighty God etc. Whereas the King of Achin hath desired that the Hector should leave a merchant in this [place ?] to the end to draw commerce and trade hither, and the better to dispose [of

our?] business hereafter for the good of the Right Honourable and Right Worshipful Company of Merchants Trading to the East Indies, and in regard we do see that the Guzerats cannot come to this port in regard of their wars with the Portingals, and that we do see at present here is good to be done in the sale of Guzerat cloth, and having some sorts which is here more vendible than in other places and that our nation may bring yearly great quantity of Surat goods, we have therefore thought fit to settle a factory here and to leave with you such goods as we can spare which is here vendible, as per an invoice herewith given you more at large doth appear; entreating you to do your best endeavours for the good of the Company, and the proceed thereof to invest in rials of eight or other commodities fit for our country against the coming of the next ships.

And in regard you are to give some attendance of his Majesty when he goeth abroad, according to the custom of the country, we do entreat you to do and to give his Majesty and his nobility all due respect, and then they will be your friends; which [if] you use them harshly they will hinder your business and whatsoever you take [in] hand they will cross it.

In all your business we desire it may be done in loving manner and with the advice and counsel of each other, and that there be no striving for superiority, nor any buying, selling or bartering in private but with the allowance and consent of each other, except urgent occasion to the contrary.

For the keeping of your goods, we desire you to take, buy or build a convenient dwelling-house, and to stand in a convenient place in regard in the rains. Some hath sustained great loss by the overflowing of the waters, which we do earnestly entreat you to have a special care therein.

If you find hereafter that pepper, benjamin, or any other commodity fit for our country may be bought at reasonable rates in the absence of ships, you may do well to invest what quantity you can at reasonable rates and send the same for England by the next ship or ships.

If you have hereafter any conveyance for Surat, either by way of Coramandell, Dabull or any other good conveyance, that you advise Mr. Aldworth of the state of this country, and what goods

are most in request, that he may order business accordingly; the like you are to do for Bantam.

That you send per the next ships a copy of your journal and account of your business, that they may be brought to account at Bantam according to the Company's desire.

Your loving friends,

John Millward.	Arth. Spaight.
John Yates.	John Sandcrofte.
John Parsons.	Edmond Aspinall.

Endorsed: The Commission given Mr. Jouxan and myselfe, Wm. Nicolls, by the Merchants of the Hector and Thomas.

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Captain Arthur Spaight to General Nicholas Downton.[1]

Achen, 4th July 1615.

WORSHIPFUL, my humble duty remembered. You shall understand that the 15th of April we arrived in the road of Achin, the King being 25 leagues off at Pedear with the King of Jore (Johor), whom had married the King of Achin's sister. The 16th we sent up Mr. Sandcrafte and Mr. Aspinall to the town to take a house, and the next day, being the 17th, I sent up Mr. John Oxweke with Mr. Samuell Juxson and Mr. Johnson and Esay Butte with the long boat and pinnace with our trumpets, giving at his going from our ship three pieces of ordnance in respect he carried our King's Majesty's letter and the Honourable Company's present with him for the King of Achene. The said Oxweke with Mr. Juxson within some few days after took their journey by water to Pedeare, where of the King they were kindly entertained and delivered our King's letter with the present, the which was kindly accepted, and they used according to the custom of the country; and so within some 15 or 18 days with the King they returned to Achin, wherein Oxweke followed his court business and our other

merchants their buying and selling, some jars passing between them, I mean the courtier and the rest merchants, the which per the merchants' letters I was given to understand and entreated withal to come up to set them at unity, as also to give my consent for the selling of one hundred bahares of iron unto the King; the which presently I did, and the next day after my coming to them the iron was sold to the King at the rate of 5 talle and $\frac{3}{4}$ the bahare or thereabouts, for which iron as after was objected against Mr. Oxweke that there might pepper have been had for it of the King at weight for weight. Those business passing on, Oxweke following his court business utterly rejected the counsel of the rest merchants being there with him and withal carried himself so lofty, not respecting the nobility, that in the end through his proud and disdainful carriage he not only got the illwill of the aforesaid nobility but of the King also, who caused him to be thrust or put out of the court; and yet after, presuming to approach to the King's presence, having made way with a nobleman called Aron Caie [1] Hettam, per whose means he was called for to come into the King's barge, where was the Hollands captain, who was at that time fain to be the linguist; wherein Oxweke gave such cross answers to the King that the King willed one of his guard to kill him with his spear, and had not the foresaid Aron Caie Hettam pacified the King, assuredly it had been done. This business passing in this sort, the other three merchants wrote me a letter willing me forthwith to come up to them, in which letter they wrote part of their grievances; whereupon the 7th of June I came to Achine, where the foresaid merchants did lay open the carriage of Mr. Oxweke, and withal drew certain articles [2] against him and entreated me to call a council for the good of the Honourable Company. So at the instance of them and by virtue of a private commission received from you, I called a council of the honestest men in the ship, as in writing as large appeareth, which time will not now permit me to send. In this council Mr. Oxweke was deposed and removed from business till he came to Bantam. He being troubled with the flux within eight days after departed this life in Achine, where we interred him in the night. This council did hold it fit that I should take this court business in hand and forthwith ordained with a general

consent. This was done the 13th of June, and the 27th of the same month I had the King's license brought me home to the house; but it cost dear, God grant that there may profit thereof arise. The 1st of August I had the King's chap sent to the custom-house and so to the Aron Caie Laxeman and from him unto the castle; by virtue of which chap we had leave to go when we would, all duties being paid, the which are many. But before that I could have the King's license for trading at Priaman and Tecoo, I was constrained to grant to leave a man at Achine. The 21st of June there arrived the Thomas at this port, whose merchants and ours sitting in council, it was thought fit that there [they ?] should leave one or two men more for mortality's sake, as also they thereby hoping to procure the settling of a factory at Tecoo or Priaman the better. They gave also a present and delivered our King's Majesty's letter. It hath pleased God to visit our ship with mortality wherewith we have at present lost 22 or 23 men. Mr. Salloes died the last of March and a boy of mine six days after. The most part of these men died of the flux; the rest with a stuffing or pain in their stomachs. At present some are sick; God grant them health. I am forced to get black men for mariners, and hope within three or four days to be going, with the Ponlema or Governor of Tecoo, for whom we now stay.

Other news at present here is none, but that the King of this place within this 15 days will be ready to depart with some 150 sails of galleys and frigates. It is given out that he goes for Mallacke, but it is uncertain.

Thus humbly taking leave, with my prayers to the Almighty for your prosperous success in all your affairs and safe return unto your native soil. Vale.

Yours in all humble duty,
Arthur Spaight.

Addressed: To our Worthy and Right Worshipful General Nicholas Downton give this.

Endorsed: The Copy of my second letter from Achen. Copy of Arthur Spaight's letter from Achin to Bantam to Captain Downton.

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John Skinner to Adam Denton.[2]

In Mocashar, the 12th of July 1615, by me, Jno. Skinner.

LOVING Friend Mr. Adam Denntone, I with all my heart commend me unto you, hoping of your good health and prosperity, the which I do beseech the Lord long to continue to His glory and your own heart's comfort and the joy of your friends. Amen.

You shall understand for old acquaintance sake having this opportunity I thought good for to write these few lines unto you, whereby you shall understand of our proceedings. But I will be brief, because I am very ill myself and I will not be too troublesome unto you.

First, you shall understand that in the time of our trimming of our ship upon the Coast[3] Captain Essingtonne died, John Brigg, Roger Swetman, Father Eckelles, Colbarde Whitfillde, Anthonie Fenneye and William Drackote, all these died.

Now after that our ship was trimmed (which was exceedingly [ ] done and so well as that I verily think she was far better than when she came out of England) at my coming unto Maselopotam Signor Peter Floryes[4] was [very much?] paltered with in getting in his debts, but still for [*some words illegible*] every one bobbed him off[5] with this answer that when the ship came he should have all in presently, which was nothing but words, as we found afterwards, and the time of year spent; so that of necessity if the ship went home that year we must be gone, which our debtors knew very well. He that owed us most was the Governor; so Mr. Floryes, perceiving that he was fed with fair words, begun to think what course to take. To be brief we laid this project, which was to seize upon the Governor's son when he was in the custom-house, and to carry him aboard, and there to detain him until we had all our debts aboard; which attempt we gave, ten of us, when his guard was strong, for at that time there was a ship of Holland come in with two

or three companies of soldiers for Palacate and rid in Maselopotam road by us, which made all them of Maselopotame afraid. Now thus it was. As soon as the Governor's son was in the custom-house, Mr. Floryes went thither to him and sat talking with him, and all the guard set their pikes against the wall of the custom-house. So after that they had sat half an hour or thereabout I came down with seven more from our house and came where the pikes stood and took every man as many as he could get and shut the custom house gate and carried the Governor's son into our skiff with Mr. Floryes, and so carried him away in despite of all. Yet the water being very low we were many times aground going down the river, and I will warrant you afore that we were at Mr. Brownn's tomb there was 3,000 men of each side the river; but we had hid four or five muskets in our skiff's sail, which we began to let fly among them and that made them make a stay. So we carried him aboard, where we kept him six days, in which time we had all our debts sent aboard and water and refreshing, and our men very kindly used unto our own contents. So I pray let this suffice for our Maselopotam business.[1]

The 8th of December we departed from Maselopotam and arrived at Bantam the beginning of January, being 26 days between Maselopotam and Bantam; where we found the James, the Osiander and the Concord, which Concord was new come out of England[2] and had took in goods to go for the Molockos, but her master dying that was dashed until our coming. So when we were come, the 7th of January there was a court called for the sending of this ship Concord for the Molockos with a small pinnace of 30 tons. There was none that would undertake this business to go master of the Concord; whereupon I told them if I mought have Mr. Floryes's goodwill I would give over the Globe and proceed for the Molockos in the Concord, a ship of eight or nine score. So it was agreed upon and Mr. Salmon, which was master of the Osiander, to go in the Globe master; and she not to proceed home.

So the 27th of January I set sail from Bantam, carrying along with me for my chief merchant Mr. George Balle[3] and Mr. Chaunceye.[4] Now we were by the way to touch at Mocashar

and there to leave Mr. Chance for chief and to take in Mr. Cokeine,[1] which we found chief there, to go along with us for the Islands of Banda and Molockos. We arrived at Mocashar the 7th of February and stayed there until the 21st, and then set sail and arrived at Bannda the 7th of March, where we found the Dutch General[2] with seven sail of very tall ships. We were here very unkindly used by the Dutch and were at push of pike with them for trade; but with their great might they overcame us and would not let us have any trade, neither go anywhere with our boats but where their castle was. Here we remained until the 29th of March and then went to sea, but at our going we had two ships sent to go with us to keep us for [from?] trading at any of the other islands. So we went for Polo Waye, having resolved to run our pinnace ashore, which we did, for in the night in a gust we lost our two wafters[3] and the next day ran the pinnace ashore and hauled her up and left them [her?] there, and we stood over for Gillililli[4] to spend the westerly monsoon and to have refreshing, where there is very good, but nothing else. The last of April, the easterly monsoon being come, we set from Gillillie and stood over again with Polo Waye to see what news with our pinnace, which we found very well and all things in good order. We took in a small quantity of mace, and left the pinnace there and we directed our course for Ambyno to see if we could get cloves. When we came unto Ambyno, there the Hollanders have the people in such bonds that none of the country people dare come aboard any ship but the Hollanders'; and besides the Hollanders have a castle there. From thence we went for Ceram, where there is good store of cloves; where the Hollanders have no castle but two houses. Here we had grant of trade and had a piece of ground given us to build a house, which we took in and set St. George above. The Hollanders seeing this were mad and began to make war with the country people on the other side at a place called Cambello, having there a great ship with 37 pieces of ordnance called the Moon. The country people came over unto us and told us that they would give the Island to the King of England and withal give us a castle; whereupon we sent over our men with the colours of St. George to advance in the castle, which when the Hollanders

saw they shot no more at the castle but into the town exceedingly from this place called Hito. We thought good to go and left four men in the house that we bought adjoining to our ground. When we came unto Cambello there we found all the force the Hollanders could make, and they would not suffer us to come aland nor to go to the castle that the country people had given us; but there we saw our colours abroad but could not be suffered to come near them. So one night we conveyed ashore six men more with their shot into the castle; and the next day they shot at the castle from the ship and the shore (for the Hollanders had got three great pieces ashore). So having some men killed (the Hollanders I mean) and perceiving that it was Englishmen that were in the castle by their deadly plying of their shot, sent word aboard of us that if we would not send for our men out of the castle and withal our colours, that then they would presently sink us, and withal turned a half-hour glass, and no longer respite to be had. We gave them for answer that if they sunk us our voyage was made; and for our men the country people would not let them go. By this time there was another Hollanders' ship come into the road and [was ?] called the Green Lawee,[1] with some 14 pieces of ordnance. Also there came news the Dutch Admiral was come from Bannda where he had lost 300 men upon Polo Waye and could not take it. Hereupon, in regard that the General was come with his force, we sent for our men which were in the castle to come down with their arms [ ], which they did. Marry, our colours the country people would not let them bring away. [Seeing ?] our men departed from the castle, the country people also fled up into the country. The next day the General came about with four ships and the Hollanders took the castle which the people had given us, which they might very easily do, for there was none to resist them.

The [ ] which we left at Hitto and [ ] when he came there [ ] must be all of [ ] come to him to [ ] himself and said he had [*three lines illegible*] General gave him such a welcome that I wager he wished himself 20 leagues off at sea in our one ship.

But to conclude all was but words of choler, for afterward he was of another mind but still he swore if he could reach our pinnace he would [ ] them all for they had betrayed his men upon Polo Waye. The 21st we set sail from Cambello and on the 24th of June arrived in Macashar, but we touched at Botonne by the way. But at our coming to Mocashar, we found Mr. Chaunceye fled with the Dutch in a Dutch ship, in doing of which he hath done the Company great wrong and very much discredited himself, for he had no cause, for the King offered him to defend him from all men, both Portingalles and Spannyardes or whatsoever; but he, being led away by the Dutch, would hearken unto no counsel but went away and left the Company's goods to a matter of 2,000 rials. And when all forsook the house Richard Boshope told them all he would live and die with the Company's goods and would not budge, come life, come death. So they went all away and left poor Boshope, which was very well done of him to stay, for otherwise God knoweth what would have become of the Company's goods. Besides, the Hollanders played a very pitiful tragedy here after that they had all their debts in (and more by report than was owing them, for indeed they had what they demanded). They laid a plot and got the King's nephew aboard and two or three of the chief Orenkes,[1] and when that they had them aboard murdered the King's nephew, which the King loved most dearly, and his brother and two or three more, more like cannibals than Christians. Yet for all this Mr. Chaunceye would not be counselled nor dissuaded from his going with the Hollanders, wherein he hath made himself accessory to the murther. The King upon this made a vow that never any Christian should have trade in his country again, which he would have kept if Boshope had gone away too; for all the Portingalles are commanded hence and are the most part gone, and at our coming into the road he sent word aboard on pain of death not one of our company to set foot on land, and for our goods, house and [ ], if we would have it, he would send all on board in two or three days. But hearing the news of Mr. Cocken, which was principal here when Mr. Chancie came, and by Mr. Balle's wise managing of this matter, we have got trade again, and Mr. Cocken is to

remain chief here. Sure this is a good place and will prove better than it was, in regard the Dutch is gone, which shall never be entertained here again and are exceedingly hated both at the Molockos, Bannda and all these parts. Also at our coming hither we found two of our pinnace's men which we lost at Polo Waye. They came in a junk with nuts and mace freighted by Mr. Savonne,[1] merchant of the pinnace. And these men affirm that the Hollanders could not lose less than 300 men, which they saw being upon Polo Waye when the Hollanders landed; and truly I durst lay all that ever I shall be worth whilst I live that the Hollanders never get the islands of Bannda, for all the Bandeneses will lose their lives before they will be under the Hollanders. Surely the Lord is offended with them, for from the top of Gonnepe,[2] which is a high hill hard by their castle Nero (Neira) which continually burneth, many times flies great stones into the castle with such force that once or twice the Hollanders have been in the mind to forsake all, and one time had begun to make way to leave the castle had not this new old choleric General[3] come. This I was certified of for truth by many Englishmen which were soldiers there and have since lost their lives. There is of the Globe's company with me Richard Boshope, Batte[4] Churchman, which I have made my mate, and Thomas Williams cockee.[5] But the Globe is gone home very rich, the Lord bless her. All that I have got in the Molockos is the country disease, the flux, which I have had this seven weeks, and I was so weak at my coming to Mocashar that I was fain to be brought ashore in men's arms. But I praise the Lord I have met with a Capan[6] here, a Christian, which I hope hath almost cured me; the Lord make me thankful for it, unto whose protection I commit you, who I beseech to send us to meet in our own native country again when it is His good will and pleasure. Amen.

Your loving friend,

John Skinner.

I pray commend me to Signor Hendrycke Johnsonne, my brother, Reckooe and all the rest of our friends. Vale.

We are now ready to set sail for Sackidana and so for Banntam.

No address or endorsement.

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George Cokayne to Sir Thomas Smythe. Macassar, the 16th of July anno 1615.

HONOURABLE and Right Worshipful, My humble duty remembered, etc. My last letter sent for England, written in Macassar and bearing date of the 20th of April 1614,[1] I do make some doubt that it is not come to your Worship's hands, neither that which I wrote at my first settling in Macassar, bearing date of the 28th of July 1613,[1] which letters as I understand are opened and perused, the reason wherefore I know not; they that doth it need not for any light in this business, for by all conveyances they have been advised to Bantam of all particulars the better to direct this factory of Macassar or elsewhere hereabouts, and therefore the Company's letters might have leave to pass. According to the direction of Sir Henry Middleton at the return of the Darling from Amboyna, and arrived in Macassar the 16th of July 1613, it was thought requisite to establish there a factory, having a great cargazon of cloth, which we could not be suffered at Amboyna nor any place near adjoining to take a house, neither in the way of a factory nor to separate our wet goods from the dry, the Hollanders threatening the country people in pain of their heads not in any fashion to deal with us, so what we did was by stealth. Captain Jurdayne having settled the business in Macassar, leaving me and Benjamin Fairie[2] there to remain, with one man more to assist us. In short time after the ship's departure from thence the Flemings there remaining did in vile manner by all the means that they could both in word and deed seeking to disgrace us to the King and the simple country people; the King and country so fearing the Hollanders that they thought no nation under the sun in any fashion durst to withstand them (they domineering over the Portingales in this place), that they began to do the like unto us, in base manner abusing our King's Majesty and our late deceased Queen, insomuch that to blows and great dissension almost ready to consume both factories that the King could not

tell what to think, that we being but new-comers durst stand out against the Hollanders, and the Portingalles so quietly putting up many abuses by them. After these broils being past and the Flemings endeavouring to amend their former behaviour, the King oftentimes sending for me, demanding of me many questions concerning our King's Majesty, the state and manner of our country with the Hollanders and all other Christian Princes, that in short time I might have what law and justice I would myself in the country. The King with divers Arrankayos of the country oftentimes asked of me why we did not send people to Banda, the people there so much desiring to have us there, at this time being two principal men of Pollaya (Pulo Ai) here in Macassar ready to return for Banda. I answered them: do you not hear of the death of our General[1] with the loss of so great a ship[2] as they did wonder to hear of by all travelling merchants that had seen her, or else our loving friends at Banda had been visited with suchlike countenance. On the 13th December here arrived a small junk sent from Bantam to visit both this factory and Sacadania, which brought in her 678$\frac{1}{5}$ catties China of raw Lankine[3] silk; which had come to a very good market, but within three days after arrived here a China junk (it being the first that ever came to this place) bringing great store of raw silks, woven silks, porcelain and all other China commodities, selling it here cheaper than at Bantam. Now considering the long time this vessel was to stay here before the monson would serve for to go for Sacadania, it was thought good to employ her for Banda, I having sold little of the clothing left here with me (it being sorts not fitting for this country). She set sail from hence the 13th February, but the monson this year falling out shorter than ever any man heretofore had seen, when she was in the sight of Burro,[4] finding the easterly monson set against them, were fain to return for Macassar with thirty sail of junks, Mollays, Javas and Macassars, with all their commodities appointed for those countries, that here was such a glut of clothing and many poor merchants half undone.[5] In this vessel by negligence of stowing our packs there fell some damage in the cloth taking wet, to the quantity of 200 dollars as it cost, not fit for anything. I thought it not amiss to touch this point, although it be long

past, for that I presume my former letters came not to your hands, and I setting out this pinnace of myself, not having order from your Worships or from any other authorized. The pretended[1] voyage was for Pollaya, hearing of the earnest desire those people had of our coming, much marvelling that we came not, and also having heard by the Hollanders themselves that this monson their whole force would fall upon Pollaya, and there to fortify a castle, we thought it good to send thither and there to settle a factory before the Hollanders should have such hold there, and for to remain there Benjamin Fairie with two or three other Englishmen; and for the time of the pinnace her abode there after her goods were landed, she might be moored with sternfasts[2] and ride afloat; and rather than fail to effect this business or endanger the pinnace (it being but a weak vessel) to land the demiculverin which was appointed for Sacadania there, in the charge of Benjamin Fairie, until the coming of the next English ship or ships there. But it so pleased God that she was not able to fetch the place.

Now concerning this country of Macassar your Worship shall understand the principal trade used here, the country of itself not yielding anything but only rice and being of a better sort than that of Java, which all merchants that live here in Macassar doth carry for all places in the Mallucas, where it will vent before other commodities. The Portingales' only trade here is to buy spice at the second hand of such junks as come from Banda, Amboyna or the Mallucas. At my first settling in Macassar, having not any other commodity but only Surratt clothing, and not of such sorts as this place doth require it, what moneys I made thereof according to order I did employ in rice for the monson following to the quantity of fifty quoyanes[3] at 20 dollars the quoyan, expecting shipping to lade the same; but for want thereof (as also good houses for such business) it did remain on my hands until this last monson (I mean January 1614 [1615]), and then being forced to sell it to Chinese to make rack of, it being old and some part of it touched with wet for want of sufficient housing. This last year I did not buy any rice for fear of the want of shipping and we not having any factories in those places where rice is required. I then employed the moneys in mace, being but little in the country,

about 46 bahares Banda, all which I bought, some at 120 dollars, at 110, at 105, and some at 100 dollars the bahare.

On the 6th of February arrived here the Concord and in her George Ball and George Chancy with order from Captain Jurdayn to take all accounts and reckonings from me and to place here chief George Chancey, and I to proceed the second time to the Mallucas, clearing the factory of all such clothing as lay here not fit for this place, some sent for Bengermassin and Sacadanya, some sorts shipped aboard the Concord, and what was fit to let rest delivered into the charge of George Chancey; also the money taken for cloth for the account of the Seventh Voyage (being the sum of 1,269¼ dollars) shipped aboard the Concord for the Mallacas with four fardles of red yarn left with me by John Parsones.

Concerning the commodities with all sorts of clothing that fits for this country of Macassar, I have advised at large to Bantam and likewise to Pattanya of the length, breadth and colours, for that if it fits for this country good stock will vend. At our being at Surratt much of the cloth which we there bought at dear rates, none of us all having experience of these countries here but Sir Henry Middleton, yet nevertheless making choice of some bad sorts which are not current or quick in sale, as also in the Red Sea taking so many sorts of slight trash (which might have been refused for better) that in these parts the people are unacquainted withal; for they will not be brought out of their accustomed manner of clothing and yet every several country must have particular sorts according to their fashion.

The 18th of February I departed from Macassar with the Concord and on the 14th of March arrived at Niroe in Banda before the Dutch castle, there finding seven sail of Flemings with General Rence,[1] saluting them in the best fashion; and on the morrow following Mr. Ball and myself went to the castle to visit the General, having divers speeches concerning those places, the General wishing we might have lading, yet marvelling wherefore we should come to those places which they lay claim to; and being in wars to conquer the same, we ought not to come to molest or trouble them, showing us such absurd reasons as they had in store sufficient for the time, and having most part of their

forces there present, that they had both right and reason in all their proceedings; but what we could allege for our coming thither in civil and peaceable trading was by them held as folly and scoffed at, that we should intermeddle where they had to do; we not being desirous to have much parley of these points nor answering to the full their peremptory and idle demands. On the morrow following sending our boat over to Cumber[1] to fill water, the Fleming came and searched her coming and going. The next morning Mr. Ball, myself, with Signor Saffony[2] went to the town of Lontore[3] to capitulate with the Arankayoes there concerning our pretended[4] business; was by the Fleming searched to see what we did carry. At our coming to Lontore and in conference with the Aronkayos, giving them to understand that we were come to trade with them, showing that we pretended to leave a factory at Lontore with them to remain as we have in other countries, which they liked to be good motions; then one of the Orankayos of my acquaintance at Macassar with two other old men, pointing to the Fleming castle, saying that it makes old men to weep, and will the child that is unborn, saying as God hath given them a country to them and theirs so He hath sent the Hollanders as a plague unto them, making wars upon them and by unjust proceedings seeking to take their country from them. The Arancayos of all the island not being then present, at the end of three days after we should come to Cumber, as if it were to fill water, and there we should speak with all the principal of the land and have a certain conclusion concerning our pretended business. At our return to our ship came one of the Flemings' boats full of soldiers with small shot, commanding us to go into the castle to their General. We told them after we had been aboard our own ship we would repair unto him. On the third day after, being the time limited, the boat being fitted to go for water Mr. Ball and myself going in her as if it were to wash, as soon as we put from the ship came two Flemings' boats full of small shot with murderers[5] in the head ready with linstocks to give fire, saying we are not to go out of our ship nowhere on land. Then came a third boat and grappled our boat with a chain to have towed us to the castle; then, we falling to blows, cleared themselves of us, we going aboard our own ship. Presently the

General sent for Mr. Ball to come to the Castle to him. Mr. Ball would not go to him himself but sent me to know his pleasure. At my coming finding the General and all his Council sitting at a long table with many writings before them, as if all the matters in Holland had been there to be decided, the General frowningly looking upon me demanded where our commission was. I told him aboard, in the hands to whom it belongs. He said he would see it. I answered: our commission is sufficient to warrant our proceedings, and no reason that any foreign nation should peruse the same. He then standing up, fluttering his papers at my face, saying we were rogues and rascals, not having anything but from Thomas Smith of London, most vilely railing of our Honourable Company; saying that our King's Majesty had sufficiently understood by them of these proceedings, his Majesty replied that they had all the right that might be and no others to these places of Banda, Sir Thomas Smith then in presence silenced; and further that the Dutch Company had and have more favour of his Majesty than the Company of England have. I answered it was their good fortune and our Company's ill luck that they are so overswayed at home; they saying we came to steal more voyages from them as others had done before, naming Cilinge[1] and Middleton,[2] which they might have made good prize, if they had been so minded.

On the 26th of March I departed in the pinnace to go for Pollaya; presently let slip one of the Dutch ships to follow us, either to have brought us in again or else not to let us to land at Pollaya. This afternoon steering off into the sea, the ship having but a small gale, and at eleven of the clock in the night in a gust steered another course that in the morning we had lost our wafter. On the 30th of March coming before Pollaya, finding the Concord with one Dutch ship to waft her, there plying to and again, we not coming so near as to speak with her but put in for the island. At my first going on land the people much rejoicing of our coming, this present evening all the people presently landed our goods and on the morrow to have hauled the pinnace on dry land that she might be secure from danger. This next morning the Concord came close aboard the island. I went aboard. Mr. Ball commanded me to leave all to the

discretion of Signor Saffone, and we to depart for Amboyna, there to despatch some business before the Dutch ships should come. Yet this would not content the Bandanese, for they would speak with the Captain. At Mr. Ball his coming to parley with them, goods they had but it must be bought with dollars at the price of Captain Keelinge and Mr. David Mideltton; but we answered them with other reasons: that they had reason to do as they did, considering the time, but now it is otherwise: we minded to have a house and people to remain here and to trade as the place shall require, we having all sorts of commodities for them. I perceive by the Bandanese it contented them well that the English should follow the fashion of Captain Keelinge and to hold that price with them, which is for their profit and a great hindrance to the Company's trade, for they would have us to lade at such dear rates disbursing of much moneys and never to see into the trade of their country but to despatch and be gone. We certified them we came not to lade or to buy any great quantity of spice, but as friends came to hold good correspondence with them and to have a factory remain with them, and then what commodities there is, everyone to deal as he shall find it for his best profit; for in truth it would be far more profit to your Worships to have a factory in the country than in such a hasty fashion to strive to lade a ship at dear rates and so leave the place, which the country people hold as a good precedent Captain Keelinge and Mr. Middleton, which they like well of for it is for their profit. I told them at present mace is almost as cheap in England as they would have us to give, showing them that this year in Macassar I bought of all the junks that had been here the year before for 100 mas the bahar, and might have bought under if I would buy more; yet they sing one song: we must do as our countrymen before have done. To conclude this business we left Signor Saffone to do according to his discretion, either to lade the pinnace and leave the place or lade the pinnace and there to remain till the next supply.

The 27th of May we arrived in the straits of Amboyna before Hittoe, at our coming thither hearing of an English ship that had been there but had departed from thence some ten days

before our arrival. We spake with Captain Hittoe,[1] the principal of this place, but very secretly, for publicly he durst not for fear of the Hollanders. He told us at present there was no cloves in the country, but if there were, not any of the inhabitants durst to sell them unto us. Other speeches we had concerning the state of this place. He told us they were not masters of their own, but yet in time they did hope for a remedy, wishing us to go over to Louga,[2] and look, whatsoever those people and we should agree upon, that he and all the rest of Amboyna would like well of. On the 29th of May going over to Looga, in the offing we met the Thomasine and in her John Bayly and Edmond Blaythman,[3] they having been at Looga some ten days before, the Arrankayos wishing them to go to look for the English ship which is at Banda and then to come with some strength and countenance, for otherwise the Flemings would be too hard for us, and the country not daring to look upon us without we should be able to withstand the Flemings. The 30th of May 1615 before day in the morning we were privately on land, where we came secretly to speak with the principal man of the country some mile from his house in the woods, for that he nor any of the rest durst have any conference with us, they were by threatening speeches so terrified by the Flemings, and we not going on the shore but at our heels two or three Flemings to watch whither we went, what we did and with whom we spake, in such base fashion that no man with patience could suffer the same. Conferring with this Arronkaya concerning our trading, in brief words he plainly told us: to deal in holes and corners (as he did when I was there with the Darling) he could not, nor durst not, although the country were their own; but if we were as strong as the Flemings we should have the whole trade of this land, although they have made some contract with the Hollanders, and being partly forced thereunto, yet they are vilely abused by them. Then we told him we did desire to have a house and to settle a factory in the country (which thing did please him well and as he said was our only course, but that he feared the Flemings would not suffer the same): as for them, if the country be so content to entertain us, we would stand to the hazard of the Flemings. Having thus far proceeded herein

he desired us to rest the space of four days and at the end thereof we should come to the speech of all the Aronkayos together, and then to agree of some good conditions. On the fourth day, being privately conveyed up into the hills among the bushes, where we found all the Arrankayos both of Louga and also Cambella, entering into divers speeches with them, they told us they did in their hearts reverence our King's Majesty and Honourable Company and in action would show it if they durst, telling us the country was theirs but for all that they dare not be known to give us licence to have any abiding therein, although they desire the same: that if they might trust that we would be as good as our words and not to start from them, leaving them in the lurch, they would draw a writing of some certain conditions, freely giving us their full authority to have a house at Looga, and also at present to have us to build another at Cambella, and to trade as we do in other places. This done, themselves appointed out our ground, desiring us to come and set up our colours and roundly to apply the same business, which on the 5th day following was effected. At this time at Cambella being there a Dutch ship, and in her the Governor of Amboyna Castle, making war with the place, shooting at their houses and castle, killing some of their people, the reason wherefore the country could not tell, then overland came two of the Arankayos to our ship riding at Looga, to entreat that we would send over some of our people to take possession of their castle, which they would deliver into our hands in the name of our gracious King's Majesty of England; at which present two men being sent and on the said castle advanced the English colours, which the Flemings most vilely abused, turning up their tails and continually shooting thereat, both from the ship and shore, insomuch that both our ships were fain to come from Looga to see if the Flemings would deliver our house, which they had taken into their possession and therein had landed three demi-culverin. At our coming demanded of the Governor in all love and friendship that he would deliver up the house which is given for the use of our Honourable Company by the gentry of the country, and to remove their ordnance and colours to their own house, the two houses being distant a pistol-shot one from

the other. His answers were cross and shuffling, not resolving of any good course, but to proceed as they had begun, to abuse us by their force. On the next day our boat set me on land with one man with me, to see if I could speak with the Arankayos or relieve that one Englishman that was alone in the castle. As soon as I was on land, one Fleming more forward than wise comes after me and steps before me with his truncheon over my head, peremptorily commanding me to come before his Captain; his actions being insufferable that briefly we fell to the matter. Presently in the meantime comes running the Captain and thirty small shot, some crying "Shoot him," some "Kill him," and others "Put him in the bilboes." The Captain told me it is death for any of the English to come there on land. The third day Mr. Ball sent me to the next town by to see if I could speak with the Arankayos and to relieve the man in the castle. At my departure going from our ship the Flemings shot at us ready to sink our boat. At my return aboard bringing two of the principal Arrankayos with me to direct us up to the castle, which at midnight myself with four more of the ship's company went to keep the place. At break of day from the Flemings out of the house which was given to us came a volley of small shot with their great ordnance, as also their great ordnance from their ship in such violent fashion spoiling our colours and raking the walls of the castle, that then it was need for us to defend ourselves as best we might, bestowing of [on ?] the Flemings a hundred or two of small shot, which was not to their liking; the old Arankayos with their wives and children standing aloof off, much grieving to see the odds the Flemings had and the weak case which we were in for want of our Vice-Admiral,[1] which was put off to sea with most of the men belonging to the Concord, that she had not at this present broils not so many men as could hoist a topsail either to go off to sea or to run her ashore; for if the Thomasine had plied her business according to directions, we had kept that place in despite of the Flemings. For being our force was separated then the Flemings offered most base and cowardly abuses, putting the lives of all our people with the loss of ship and goods into the limit of one hour (the glass turned) or else to command our colours and people from the castle. At my departure from the

castle the old men with weeping tears desired me to leave our colours, which would be some comfort or content unto them, desiring if it might please God that we might come with sufficient force to do as much to the Flemings as they have done to us. At a word the abuse of the Flemings is so much and so public that, if it be put up with by your Honours, we shall attain no favour in these parts, principally and in all places where they come abusing the dignity of our gracious King's Majesty, that it were better and more credit for your Honours to hazard ships and factories than to suffer these wrongs by such unmannerly clowns that all the world doth hate and especially all these countries in general. Their proceedings is in blood and so they must continue. They have not enough to do with the Spaniardes and Portingales, but they will make wars with all inhabitants where they come, which ere long they will not find profit but much sorrow and grief, for that their actions are without reason or honesty, and all countries where they come doth hate them, but what fear compels them unto. The trade that comes by compulsion is not profitable; and if it please God your Honours continue as you have begun you will have good and happy success in all your trading in these parts, holding peace and friendship with the inhabitants of all countries; for enemies, Portingales and Spayniardes is sufficient. And farther, if the English Company doth join with the Dutch, the hearts of the people of all these countries, which now doth love and affect us for our plain and honest proceedings, will then as much loathe us that we should join with those that hath and doth give shame and disgust to all places where they come. They have many castles with much trouble and little profit.

At our return to Macassar, thinking to have found peace and friendship with the inhabitants of the country as in all places we have, at our arrival finding our people not there but gone and left the business at no head with the goods in a loose and strange manner, the King and country much disliking of the proceedings passed by the English and Dutch, desiring us to lade all such goods as was in the factory and quietly to depart his country; but by diligent means we brought the King to conceive a better opinion of us and to draw his articles for the re-establishing this

your factory in his country. For the particulars of this business I refer it to the King of Macassar his letter with Mr. George Ball's, who re-established me the second time in this factory. At my departure from Macassar I was appointed for Saccadania, but before I was half way there came a countermand from Mr. David Middelton to establish another; so then I did fully resolve to repair for England and to take no further charge upon me.

I beseech the Almighty God to bless you and in all your proceedings that He may direct you.

Your Honour's servant,

George Cokayne.

Addressed: To the Right Worshipful Sir Thomas Smith, Knight and Governor of the East India Company, dd. in London.

Endorsed: George Cockaine's letter, dated in Macassar July 1615, concerning his voyage for the Muluccoes. The Hollanders' manifold abuses.

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Robert Youart[1] to the East India Company.

Bantam, the 8th August 1615.

HONOURABLE Sir, with the worshipful Committees, My humble duty remembered. May it please you to understand my last was on the 13th May[2] by the Globe from Saldania, from whence we set sail on the 18th of the same, and having an extraordinary good passage, keeping much to the southward, God be thanked, we arrived here in safety (only with the loss of two of our young men, Thomas Browne, who fell overboard the 25th of May, and John Lattimer, who died the 30th of the same) on the

25th July, where we found (but since lately deceased) General Dowton with the New Year's Gift, and Captain Elkinton, the bearer hereof, with Captain Jordan the two principals for the managing your affairs in these parts, to whom I delivered your Worships' letters; who, having well perused them, presently proceeded according to your order with a voyage for Japan to be performed by our ship the Advice as very fitting for such employment, having for our better defence taken into her out of the Gift two falcons of brass and one brass minion with another of iron, and two more exchanged, and here landed so much of our provisions and other stores as for such a voyage was holden superfluous. But forasmuch as the munsoone is so far spent as by the way we could not touch at Potania and Siam, and with the same recover Japan also, it was upon good consideration concluded by the late General Dowton, Captain Elkinton, Captain Jordan and others, that from hence we should proceed directly for Japan; for which place they fitted us with a cargazon of goods there vendible, which together with that your Worships sent in the Advice and Attendant for that place also amounteth to eleven thousand six hundred forty-eight rials, with order in our return hither (which by God's help may be done in eight or ten months) by the way to touch at the foresaid places of Siam and Potania there to invest such quantity of silver brought from Japan in silks or other commodities as upon good advice shall be thought most profitable; to which employment I beseech Almighty God give such a blessing that the fruits of my travails may be answerable to your expectations (which by all good means I will strive to perform) as well in the good success of your adventures as in my own discharge of that good service I owe your Worships for your good opinion formerly conceived of me, which well appeared by the preferment at my coming abroad you were pleased (altogether on my part undeserved) to give me, in the meantime humbly entreating your Worships' patient and favourable expectation of the event. I have also received of Captain Elkinton out of the Gift four of his Majesty's letters, whereof one is directed to the Emperor of China, one to the Emperor of Japan, and two blanks which upon good occasion shall be presented.[1] Others at present I have not to write your

Worships; and therefore, beseeching God to direct and prosper all your affairs, for this time I humbly take my leave.

Your Worships' humble servant,

Robert Youart.

Addressed: To the Honourable Sir Thomas Smithe, Knight, Governor, and to the Worshipful the Committees of the East India Company, dd. in London.

Endorsed: Bantam, the 8th of August, 1615. Mr. Robert Yowarte per Gift.

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John Jourdain to Richard Wickham at Firando.

Bantam, August 10th anno 1615.

LOVING Friend Mr. Richard Wickham, My last unto you[1] was by our friend Mr. Rapghe Coppendall in the Osiander, by whom I sent you a piece of stuff as a token of my love, the which I hope you have received long since. This at present is only to certify you that I was to go home this year in the Hector, which we daily expect from Achin; but the death of General Dowton hath altered my determination, for that Mr. Elkington (who was to take my place after me) is found by the boxes opened[2] to be successor to the General and is to go home in the New Year's Gift. So except I should be ungrateful of the Honourable Company's kindness, I cannot leave the place this year with credit, seeing they have dealt so liberally with me to augment my wages to 150*l.* per year, with other favourable promises. Therefore as a friend I counsel you to go forward in well-doing in the Company's service and doubt not of your reward, for they are [ ] so honourable that they doth gratify all those which doth deserve their favours. As for myself, they have dealt so worthily with me that I can desire no more and I doubt not but by the next fleet they will do the like pro you, for in my last sent by the James and Globe I wrote Sir Thomas Smith in your behalf,

persuading myself if you have no contrary enemies at home that by the next you shall have your wages augmented. In the meantime if I may do you any pleasure I will not fail therein, provided always that it be for the Company's service. General Dowton fought with the Portingalls at Surat and sunk three of their ships, having in all nine ships or galleons, besides galleys and many frigates. They[1] sent home one of their ships from thence laden with indigo, one of 300 tons called the Hope. The Solomon is gone from hence to Mossalapotam. The Gift and the Hector I hope will be ready to go for England in November next, if the Hector come from Achin in time. Mr. Bale in the Concord and Mr. Bally in the Thomasine were beaten from the Mallucas per the Flemings; so the Concord is gone for Sucadana and the Thomasine for Tymor. We daily expect their coming for Bantam, which I pray God send in safety. The Attendant is bound with a small pinnace to search the back side of Sumattra, where we have information of some good to be done. Thus not having else, I leave; with my commendations to yourself and all the rest of our friends, I end and rest,

Your loving friend,
John Jourdain.

Addressed: To my loving friend Mr. Richard Wickham, merchant, be these dd. in Ferando.

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George Cokayne to John Jourdain at Bantam.
Sambarrppa,[2] this 17th August anno 1615.

WORSHIPFUL, Loving Captain Jorrdayne, your health wished to the pleasure of God. May it please you to understand that since the departure of the Thomasine, who departed hence the 20th of July, since which time being called every day to the King or else he comes to our house to have me to resolve him as well as I can of such questions

as he doth propound unto me. The King is much grieved in mind and maketh much preparation for war; all the whole land is making of bricks for two castles this summer to be finished; in the armoury is laid ready ten thousand lances, ten thousand cresses[1] with bucklers to them, spaces[2] as many, pieces 2,422; 800 quoyanes[3] of rice for store: all this is to entertain the Flemings, for he will not be persuaded but that they will come to offer him some disgrace this next monson. Yesterday came a messenger from Ternate, but what his business is I cannot yet tell; but it is imagined concerning these drunken lubbers. A private friend and a great man of Sollore[4] doth say that within these three monsones the Flemings will be put out of all these countries. There is a plot laid in all these countries for that purpose. Here is news of a Dutch ship that will be here within this six days. The King says that at her arrival here he will send them their house and pagarr[5] upon rafts to them, but not a man to come on land. He will do them all the good he can, but the commonalty will not be pacified but would willingly have them to come on land and put them all to the sword. They have asked my opinion therein, but for my part I will not counsel them in any such proceedings; yet they have all the reason in the world to make clear work with as many as they can of them, as all other places begin to do, for their proceedings is in blood and so they must continue. They have not enough to do with the Spaniards and Portingales but they will make wars with all inhabitants where they come. This doth not confirm our business. The cloth that fits for this place being Dragons and Pettas Vermillia are all sold, 16 corge Dragons (4 corge at 43 mas the corge, 6 corge at 40 and 6 corge at 25 per corge); 22 corge of Pettas Vermillia at 40 mas the corge; ordinary Baftas, 8 corge sold at 35 per corge; Biraamyes, 6 corge at 35 per corge; all the raw silk at 6½ mas per cattie; 8 picules of gumlac 16 mas per picull. Other goods as yet lie dead, but I hope to have good sale, but that the country is in turmoils, men, women and children and all work making bricks, carrying earth, digging, delving and mustering of soldiers; all people come together to fortify and make strong their country. Yesterday in my sight the King, to see his force and how many men he could make, at an instant

were mustered 36,000 able men; all these in the kingdom of Macassar, which will be called together in 24 hours, besides the island countries as Bugies, Mander and Tollova.[1] This last night here arrived a small prow that came from Hittole and in her a Portingall that hath lived fourteen years in Amboyna and never discovered himself to the Hollanders, who lived in a desert place in the habit of the country people. He tells me that since the departure of our ship from Cambella that the Hollanders and the Arronkeyes have been in divers bickers to conclude a peace and to have friendship, they being their protector against all foreign nations, and further have told them: now you have seen our force, what we can do and further what we will do if you will not by fair means come to agreement; saying: the English have told you fair tales and lies, but you must not take that for your warrant, and seeing we have put away the English who comes to fill your heads with idle tales, but we do resolve not to use such justice upon you as in reason we should for your foolish proceedings with the English, who can do you no good but delude you with lies. The Arronkeyes answered: we are the head and principal of this our land and no reason that you Hollanders have to lay claim thereto, seeking by your force to make us your slaves and crown us with your castles to our disgrace. To conclude this business, it is referred to the King of Ternatt and at this present all the Arronkeys with Camilla, Sabadine, with the principal of the Flemings in Amboyna, are thither gone. If there were no pepper at Bantam our Company might have cloves, for our Generals with their countenance and forces they have will come no further than Bantam. It is to the Company's dishonour and a great shame to our nation to be so overpressed and abused by the Flemings. They say all is theirs because of their forces, and we might have all with half the force if it were well followed. By flying report I do hear that our people at Polloya (Pulo Ai) are gone over to Lancord (Lantor) and there to remain; and if I hear no other news from them and that I do perceive that they do remain at Banda, I do then purpose by God's help to have ready in this factory against the time of ships coming forty or fifty quoyanes of rice; but if I do hear of their departure from Banda (as God forbid) I will not provide any.

If it be possible that you can get into your power the King's cousin with the Sabindore,[1] for I do perceive by the King, if the Hollanders do bring them and so to have their factory re-established, he will give them as lost men and stand out by force of arms against the Flemings rather than to have them in his country. For if it be possible let us work to keep them from settling here, and then will all other countries hereabout seek to do the like and embrace [us?]. And let them turmoil in blood with all their great brags, and ere long see who shall have most profit.

If you hope to do any good in the clove countries it must be through the King of Ternatt; for if these things be followed but with a little strength and countenance at the first it is yet all in good time. I beseech the Almighty God to keep you in perfect (*sic*) and to send you happy and prosperous success in all your affairs.

I rest your Worshipful's ever loving friend,

[*Unsigned*].

If the Flemings will sell their house here you were best to buy it, for the King will not sell it; for if he would have done so I would presently have pulled it down and set it up in our own ground.

Endorsed: Copy of Mr. Cockaine's letter from Macasar to be sent for England. Entered.

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Lucas Antheuniss to Thomas Samuel.[2]

August 27th anno 1615.

THOMAS SAMUELL, Being that I am departed from hence and that the Company do continue their trade in this place of Sciam,[3] at your coming hither make and give a full, just and neat [4] account of all the goods and employments by you made in Janggamay,[5] and withal deliver over all such goods whatsoever that you shall bring with you to

Mr. John Gourney, cape merchant, or any other that hereafter in the behalf of the Company shall succeed him as principal, taking of him two or three receipts of his hand for the same, and therewith repair to Bantam, where you shall deliver the receipts to the Company's principal factor, there to be registered in the books, taking three or four receipts of him in place of those you shall deliver unto [him?];[1] and forthwith to send the said receipts so taken in Bantam by several ships of the first passage over to the Company, according to their order given.

Moreover whomsoever you shall find here principally is authorized to take your account as if myself were here present; and if he shall find you faulty in aught, you shall clear and purge yourself as is fitting, for in all your doings you have appeared very exceeding negligent, being your only fault[2] to have tarried there so long, to no small hindrance and prejudice of the Company as before the war[3] in divers letters I have certified you and withal appointed you to return hither with all the goods that then were unsold, which my letter you have in some points made answer unto, but never written nor mentioned of your coming back, nor ever satisfied me in anything that touched the Company's affairs, all your letters having been liker to screets[4] than letters, by which what vexation I have had to miss such a capital is apparent enough; but that I refer to them that above all shall best judge of their own.

As for merchandise, gold, or any other things you shall, according to the Company's and the abovesaid order, deliver to Mr. Gourney or his successors and thereof give a good and sufficient account of all that you have passed in trade or otherwise. Adj. this 27th August anno 1615.

Lucas Antheuniss.

Furthermore I have in May anno 1614 sent to Mr. Cox principal factor at Japon, one obligation due by John Joosten, Dutchman, dwelling in Japon, of T.[5] 374 0 0 Sciam coin, which reduced into rials at $6\frac{2}{3}$ mas per rial is $897\frac{1}{2}$ rials, which aforesaid sum I cannot understand whether it be sent in the junk to Sciam by Mr. Adams, neither know I (Mr. Adams not being arrived) what success he hath had or whether Mr. Cox hath received the money

or not, because in a letter he sent me afterwards by the Dutch junk, which I have received, he maketh no manner of mention thereof. Wherefore if Mr. Gourney in December next (which is the time of the junk's arrival in Sciam from Japon) shall not have received satisfaction thereof, that you do largely certify Mr. Cox to this purpose and withal send him this by me left with you. But when you shall have received this money, you are to send it to Potania to be employed in that place, also that of Thomas Samuel (when it cometh) forthwith to be sent to Bantam.

And if it happen that Chequerir, Mametan and Dultar, who with the underwritten cargazon are sent to Camboja, should happen to arrive in Sciam, that you then take the account jointly of them, and pass to the Company's account all charges of freight, loss and lading, but for diet each of them are to bear their particular charge themselves, and for salary and wages, that, after the goods and accounts taken of them, to allow both to Chequarir and Mameten the profit of 65 cattees of red yarn apiece, and to Dultar the gain made upon 40 cattees ditto. And because neither of them can write nor read, pray in taking the accounts deal friendly with them.

Factory of goods sent to Camboia with Chequerir, Mameten and Dultar anno 1615, in Sciam, the 15th June.

Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, are six packs of red yarn, weighing together Sciam cattees 415 at .	T.	0	3	0	per catty	T. 363	0	2
Nos. 1, 2, 3, are 3 packs red beathiles[1] at .	„	1	2	0	per piece	„ 435	0	0
18 pieces of yeckandams at	„	2	0	3	per piece	„ 39	1	2
3 pieces of fine yeckandams at . .	„	3	0	0	per piece	„ 9	0	0
36 pieces of red popelies at	„	0	2	0	per piece	„ 18	0	0
4 pieces of painted gynnees percallis at .	„	0	2	2	per piece	„ 2	2	0
10½ cattees opium at	„	2	2	0	per catty	„ 26	1	0
1 piece of painted Lauzoll gingams .						2	2	0
						Sa. T.[2] 895	3	0

Lucas Antheuniss.

A short factory of goods sent to Janggamay by Thomas Samuell as principal, Tho. Dryver,[3] and another named Cheque as assistants, anno 1613 in Sciam, the which amounteth as in a

long factory at large appeareth, in Sciam money unto T. 2,025 2 2½, collected into this brief as followeth:

162 pieces Tallapanies of several sorts, together	T.	209	3	2
1,675 single pieces of painted Sawayes	„	522	0	3
80 pieces of boxsha gingams	„	40	0	0
112 pieces of Narsapouries	„	49	0	0
56 single pieces gravyes Narsapouries	„	14	0	0
41 pieces Dubeties gouzerams	„	12	3	1
95 pieces red beathiles	„	166	1	0
46 pieces white beathiles	„	23	0	0
100 pieces popenies	„	75	0	0
71 pieces Jeckandams	„	106	2	0
104 pieces red popely gingams	„	45	2	0
51 pieces white and painted fine Tampees	„	37	0	2
69 pieces single painted guinees	„	25	3	2
28 pieces single painted Sawayes Percallis	„	21	0	0
49 pieces red popelyees	„	16	3	1½
30 pieces woven Tampees	„	6	2	1
2 pieces painted ginghams	„	3	0	0
9 pieces single woven Sawayes	„	1	0	2
25 packs red yarn, weighing Sciam weight and accounting the pack at 63 cattees, is 1,575 cattees	„	650	0	0
	T.	2,025	2	2½

These above specified goods are rated according as they were bought, except some few augmented for secret consideration.

Lucas Antheuniss.

Hereunder followeth the particulars of such return of the aforesaid cargazon as hath been sent from Thomas Samuell at Janggamay by Thomas Driver, and received by me in gold badly conditioned without any factory thereof, only by small bills or screets found in the bags, was together in Janggamay money weight tecalls[1] 424⅜, which is here Sciam 357¾ tecalls weight, as underwritten at large appeareth, with the difference of weight and mint betwixt Sciam and Janggamay.

115¾[2]	tecalls	weigh	Sciams	97½	tecalls	the	matte[3]	Janggamay	8	is Sciam	7½
109	„	„	„	91¾	„	„	„	„	9½	„ „	8½
108	„	„	„	90⅞	„	„	„	„	9	„ „	8
64	„	„	„	54[4]	„	„	„	„	8½	„ „	7½
28	„	„	„	23½	„	„	„	„	8	„ „	7¼
424⅜ tecalls.											

The difference of weight is that the Janggamay ticals is lesser than the Sciam, for 100 tecalls Janggamay weight but 85 Sciams; besides the Janggamay mint is baser in value, for 100 of those are worth but 75 of these in Sciam, according to which computation we are to guide ourselves for that 424⅜ tecalls Janggamay weight is as abovesaid in Sciam 357¾. The Janggamay mint tayell 809 3 2½, which reduced into Sciam mint, are 614 0 2¾ Tayell Sciam, esteemed as gold is at present worth sold in the market. The difference of the matte is not so great as abovesaid appeareth, for the best gold in Janggamay is but 9¼ matte and here in Sciam the best is but 8½ matte, so that the difference betwixt them is but ¾ of a matte. The greatest difference proceedeth from their small judgment used in the buying it.

Ticalls.													Tecalls.	mas.
97½	weight	Sciams	and	ditto	matte	7½	and	6½	per	one	is	T.	633	3
91¾	”	”	”	”	”	8½	”	7½	”	”	”	”	688	0½
90⅞	”	”	”	”	”	8	”	7	”	”	”	”	636	0½
54⅛	”	”	”	”	”	7½	”	6½	”	”	”	”	351	3½
23½	”	”	”	”	”	7¼	”	6¼	”	”	”	”	146	3½

357¾ ticalls weight gold amounteth in Sciam mint or coin to tecalls 2,456 2¾

Which 2,456 ticalls 2¾ mas reduced at 4 for a tayle is tayells 614 0 2¾ ma. Sciam.

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Consultation by Lucas Antheuniss, John Gourney, and William Sheppard.

Laus Deo in Sciam, the 7th of September anno 1615.

WHEREAS by advice in letters from Putania two days past we Lucas Anthones and John Gourney received here at Sciam there appeareth to be arrived at Patania the ship Solomon, thither directed by the Worshipful General Nicholas Downton and Thomas Elkington, Chief Agent for the English in Bantam, encouraged thereto by

a letter of the second of October last written by us the said Lucas and John and directed to Captain John Jurdain, then Chief Agent at Bantam, to the same effect, to say, for a ship of about 250 tons, we then little doubting but provision at full would have been made by us against this time for her full lading and proceeding to the Coast; but all our practices to the purpose since missing, causing us thereby to be short in effecting, as the loss of our adventure for the Ninth Voyage going to Cambozia that should have furnished Binginin,[1] the failing of the Chena[2] trade at Patania, and their slow sales and ours, besides the continuance of the wars shutting out gumlac, a principal commodity, and hindering the cutting of baccam or brazill wood,[3] which is as profitable, so as we could not yet obtain a share thereof, and also the want of free passage by Tho. Sammuell from Jangamar with his remainder, hath put us to deep consideration what course to be taken with this ship that might best fit to good purpose; and finding that being the time of her first passage is before the fine of October and impossibility in the meantime to frame a sufficient cargazon to such a charge, nor that I, John Gourney, appointed by commission to take charge as principal of the business of the voyage can be cleared hence and there appear in time: it is thought good by us, the said Lucas Anthoness and John Gourney, assisted also by Wm. Shepard, and so concluded, that the said ship Solomon shall remain and delay her passage till the month of April, which may give us good time to effect the needful, both in increasing our stock by carrying hence what possibly can be gathered and embracing further means for employment that no doubt will offer, at Putania especially, and yet not want time to accomplish at the Coast indifferently for her timely despatch thence with some commodities for Bantam and also for these parts to such quantity as may keep doing the factories, and will be enough being that the factories there are to be settled and the sorts of cloth formerly used for the most part so much to be altered to fit the present humour of these people that the first ship cannot be thoroughly served, neither can direction without the eye of the experienced here give satisfaction,

It is further agreed upon that being that I, Lucas Anthoness, have despatched myself hence towards Putana, Bantam and England and already embarked in a junk, having the King of Sciam his letters to the King's Majesty of England and that Wm. Shepard goeth also to Bantam from hence by order from thence and none left with me fit to be trusted with the managing of such goods as here are to be left at parting of me, John Gourney, which by God's help may be about one month hence, that therefore an inventory be taken of the goods remaining, and the same goods to be locked up in the gaddones[1] till the coming of some person from Pattania to take the charge thereof, we having considered and in our opinions do find Mr. Benjimmin Farey to be fit to take the chief charge of this factory of Sciam and to have with him for second some sufficient person to assist and for life and death sake; for although at this time extremities do deaden trades to and from here, yet the worst times shall be found profitable upon true sorts to be brought hither for sales, which hitherto have been very much wanting, and for employments in the best manner; the hindering causes cannot endure much longer; and besides not to be accounted a small limb to the English factory of Jappan.

Finally, it is further agreed that if through any inconvenience I, John Gourney, fail taking passage by the Dutch junk and that upon advice thereof coming to Putania, there shall not appear means for the ship with such winds as then shall range to come hither to take hence both me and such goods as here are, that then all means possible be used so far to sheathe the ship where the James did as may serve till return to avoid being beholden to governors at the Coast for room at Narsaperpeata,[2] we having experience by Mr. Flourise of such costly favour; and after the said advice and the ship so failing that there be done what possible may be to send a dozen of your blacks with a boat that may sail and row, whereby a small junk bought after here may be manned by them, which may pass me to you if other means fail.

Lucas Antheuniss. John Gourney.
Wm. Sheppard.

Loving friends to whom the above written shall come and may appertain, I pray you that if anything be omitted to be said in the aforesaid instrument through the short time to conclude the same here, that you will confer with Mr. Lucas Anthouness for conclusion; his judgment in matters necessary thereto being sufficient to give instruction to every purpose belonging to the said business.

John Gourney.

Endorsed: A Court held in Sciam by Lucas Anthonisson, John Gourney and Wm. Sheppard.

Also endorsed: Conclusion for the Solomon's Voyage to the Coast, by Lucas Ant., John Gourney, Wm. Sheppard.

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[Journal of voyage from Bantam by the Attendant and Assistant to the mouth of the Jambi river and to the town of Jambi.[1]]

In the name of God amen. The 11th September 1615.

ABOUT 10 o'clock at night we came aboard the ship and at 3 o'clock in the morning we set sail, having the wind at S.W.

12th.—At 10 o'clock in the morning we came to an anchor about 5 leagues beyond Pulopen John,[2] the wind falling flat calm and so continuing until midnight, then setting sail.

13th.—About nine o'clock we fell the (*sic*) the bedrow[3] of islands bearing off us east-southerly, standing our course E.N.E. and N.E. among [ ]. The current here sets continually.

14th.—We were by observation in the latitude of four degrees and thirty-eight minutes, and by estimation from the road of Bantam about thirty leagues.

15th.—About four of the clock in the morning we had a stiff gale of wind at south, but it continued not, falling presently calm.

17th.—In the morning we set sail and steered away N. and N. and by W. till noon, and then we saw the land of Sumatra bearing S.W. from us, having twelve fathom water. At four of the clock the point of Sumatra bare N.W. 5 leagues off; we had but three fathom and three less afoot; the land astern of us bare S.W. So we steered off N.E. and presently had deep water. At 10 o'clock at night we came to an anchor, the wind being fair.

18th.—At daybreak we weighed, the eastern point that we saw yesterday bare S.S.W. 6 leagues from us, and steered away N.E. and N., and at noon we saw an island[1] distant from the land [*blank*] leagues, the island bearing N. and by E.; we having having had all this day till now 10, 9, 7, 6, 8 fathoms and presently had 3 fathoms less afoot, but edging off N.N.E. we had 5 fathoms and so we steered till 3 o'clock in the afternoon and then N. and N.N.W. we had 7, 8, 9 fathoms, and about 10 o'clock came to anchor in 5 fathoms.

19th.—We weighed at daybreak, the island bearing S.W. by S. 4 leagues off. We steered off to come into deep water, because we rid in 5 fathoms, N.E. and N.N.E. till noon and at four of the clock we saw the island of Lusipara bearing N. by E. 6 [?] leagues from us. Then we steered away N.N.E. and N. by E. till two o'clock at night, and then anchored in 6 fathom.

20th.—We weighed about 6 o'clock, the island of Lusipara bearing S.E. by E. 4½ leagues from us and the main of Sumatra 3½ leagues; the point of Palembam bare N.N.W. 3 leagues from us and we saw the island of Banca, the high land bearing N.E. from us 6 leagues off. So we steered away N. and N. by W., having little wind at S., we being in ten fathom and in running four cables-length presently were in 2 fathoms less 2¼ aground upon the edge of sands and there lay an hour. In the meantime laid out an anchor in 2¼ fathoms, so that the wind coming about to the S.E. put us afloat in two fathoms water. We weighed our anchor and steered off W.S.W. two cables length and had 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 fathoms water. When we were aground we had these marks, viz. the island Lusipara bare S.S.E. 3¼ leagues from us and the point of Sumatra N.W. by W. 4¼ leagues from us, and the highest land that you see of the island Banca bare E. by

N. [*torn*] leagues from us. So we steered near into the shore N.W. by W. till we came to anchor at eleven o'clock at night 1½ leagues from Sumatra and 3½ from Banca, right opposite against the high hill. This day our depths were 10, 14, 15 fathom water.

21st.—We weighed at six o'clock in the morning and steered away N.W. by W., N.W. by N., till twelve o'clock at night and then anchored in 10 fathom. All this day we ran in a league and a half from the shore of Sumatra and the island of Banca on the other side. Our depths hath been 9, 10, 11, 14 fathoms. About six o'clock at night we were thwart of Bocas de Palembam, that is the entry between the island of Banca and a point of Sumatra.

22nd.—We weighed at six o'clock in the morning and steered away N.W. till noon 4 leagues from the shore, being right opposite to a great river.[1] The master observed and was in 1 degree and 37 minutes. Then we steered N.N.W., N. by W., and N. till six o'clock at night and then came to anchor in 7 fathoms, 3½ leagues from Sumatra, with the high land of the island that lieth opposite of the river bare E.S.E. 7 leagues from us. Our depths this day were from 10 to 3¼ fathoms.

23rd.—We weighed at six o'clock in the morning and steered away N.N.W. till noon and then N. by W. and W. till six o'clock and came to an anchor in 5 fathom. Our depths hath been from 5½ to 3 fathoms about three leagues from shore. We determined the next morning to send the pinnace and our boat ashore to where[2] they could descry anything or speak with any people by whom we might receive directions for the better finding of the river of Jambe.

24th.—In the morning Wm. Vernon and John Smyth were sent ashore in the pinnace with the ship's boat. They found a river ashore and with the boat went 3 or 4 leagues up into it but could see no people; so at night they returned aboard.

25th.—We weighed at six o'clock in the morning and steered away N.N.W. till night and then came to anchor in 5 fathom, some 6 leagues from the former river. Our master observed and was in 1° 10′ to the southwards.

26th.—This morning John Tucker and John Smyth were sent ashore in our boat to see whether they could discover any

place or speak with some of the country people, but they being almost ashore we shot off a piece of ordnance to have them come aboard, for we had descried four sail coming from the southward. So the boat being come aboard, the four sail afterwards we made to be junks and so soon as they descried us they presently came to an anchor about three leagues from us to windward. Then we resolved if possibly we could to speak with them. About three of the clock after noon, having the tide to friend, which set to the southward, we weighed and plyed up towards them; which they perceiving ran into the shore and anchored. The night approaching we could not fetch them, but we anchored within 2 miles of them. We appointed our pinnace to ride so near the shore as she could. Our boat likewise was manned to row off and ride in sight of the said junks, lest they should pass by us in the night unseen; and we willed them that if the junks weighed, to shoot off a piece and follow them.

27th.—In the morning, about two or three o'clock, the junks set sail close aboard the shore; but our pinnace and boat met with them and shot three or four pieces at them to make them strike. We likewise weighed and shot off two pieces ordnance at them, but touched them not. They presently came to an anchor and our boat entered two of them, one after another, and brought three of the chiefest of them aboard our ship. We demanded of them whence they were and whither they were bound. They answered they were of a place to the eastward of Java called Caiaraia[1] and came from thence, their lading being rice and salt, and were bound for Jambe. Then we told them we were likewise bound thither, and entreated them to let us have a pilot out of them. So they were contented and to accompany us with their junks, and they said that we were within a day's sail of the river of Jambe. About six o'clock this morning we set sail and steered away N., N. by W., and N.N.W. and N.W., and about three o'clock after noon we came to an anchor before the mouth of the river of Jambe in 6 fathom, about 3 leagues from the river's mouth, the island which Lynschoten[2] calleth Jambe bearing N.E. by N. Our depths this day hath been between 4 and 5 fathom until we came about 2 leagues from the point of the bay of Jambe, and then had 4 to 11 fathoms. Presently our master

went with our pinnace and boat and took one of the Java pilots with him and sounded the bar and found at the shoalest depth one fathom and a foot, it being as then a low water. At six o'clock he came aboard again, setting the pilot aboard his junk.

28th.—In the morning we sent our boat aboard the junks to bring two or three of the pilots aboard us to enquire of them about the bar, whether we could get in our ship into the river. They said: yea, at a full moon, for then there would be 3 or 4 fathom upon the bar, and that we might get out again when we would, observing the tides; after which we dismissed them. And then called a Council, consisting of the master, myself, Richard Westby, John Tucker, William Vernon, Robert Burges, John Callis, master's mate, and Robert Johnson, purser; wherein was concluded, after many debatements, and thought fitting that our ship should (if there were water enough) go into the river and there ride until we could get lading for her; and if by no means she could get into the river and that she could find no place of secure harbour about the river's mouth (whereof we saw no likelihood), that then, after our goods were taken out, the ship should return for Bantam with such advice as the brevity of the time would permit concerning our factory.

29th.—We laded our pinnace with the one half of our goods, and about three o'clock after noon we departed from the ship, the master accompanying us with the ship's boat a little way into the river.

30th.—About four of the clock in the morning we weighed anchor from the mouth of the river and ran in about two leagues, the master being with us and the ship's boat to sound the entrance of the river; and about nine of the clock in the morning he departed from us aboard the ship. At his departure we shot off in the pinnace two small pieces and three chambers. At ten o'clock we weighed anchor and at two o'clock passed by a small creek on the larboard side, which we supposed to be another entrance into the river. Two hours before night we passed by a small village. There was two passages for the river, the one very broad on the starboard side called the river of Qualemver;[1] it goeth out into the sea but by [reason?] of the shallowness it is called the dry river; the other on the larboard side goeth up to

the town of Jambe. About midnight there passed by us a great Orankay or Captain More,[1] accompanied with three or four great prows full of men. He sent off a small prow to our pinnace to entreat Mr. Westby to come and speak with him; but he being not well excused himself. He sent to desire a pass from us, which we presently made him.

October 1st.—This morning he sent again betimes aboard, and John Tucker and John Smythe went unto him to talk with him; who gave them very kind language and entertainment. He told them that there were three passages up to the town of Jambe from the seaside. He told them likewise that he would go aboard our ship and furnish our master with a couple of pilots to bring in the ship into the best of the three rivers, which is the river of Qualemver, whereat all the great junks come up. He desired to see one of our pieces, but they answered him that at present they could not come by them, they being stowed under our packs; but when we came to Jambe he might see them.

5th.—We came by a town which we were told by the country people was the halfway to Jambe from the river's mouth, being about 20 leagues distant, and now we had lost the help of the tides, which hitherto had befriended us.

6th day.—Considering that we had lost the benefit of the tides, and likewise being weakly furnished both of men and means for the getting up of the pinnace to the town, we all, as well merchants as mariners, being overwearied and tired with striving against the stream, Mr. Westby called a council, whereat were present himself, John Tucker, Wm. Vernon and Robt. Johnson; wherein it was agreed upon that per the first prow that we could get Mr. Johnson should go up to the town to hire us a couple of prows and men to help to tow us up, if they might be got.

7th.—We considered further of the business aforesaid and bethought ourselves of a more speedy course for the getting up of our goods, because the time was far spent and we saw no likelihood of getting up without more help. Wherefore it was thought fittest and agreed upon that Robert Johnson, John Smyth and three men more should go up in the pinnace her boat to the town of Jambe with a small present to the King, being 2 fine white baftas and 2 blue baftas and 2 serasses fine, and that they should

get what help they could of men and boats and hasten down to us again. About ten o'clock he departed from the pinnace and arrived there on Monday at four o'clock after noon, where they were friendly entertained both of King and country people.

8th day.—A Portingall galliot passed by our pinnace, coming from Jambe bound for Mallaca, laden with pepper. We hailed them and willed them to come aboard in their boat, desiring to speak with them; but they came not, but hastened away with tide and oars.

10th.—Our boat returned from Jambe, leaving Mr. Johnson and John Smyth behind to bring down men and a boat. This day we received a letter from the master per a prow; who sent us up word that the Orankay had been aboard that passed by us before and that he let him have a couple of pilots to bring in the ship, but as yet he could not find the entrance in.

12th.—Mr. Johnson and John Smyth returned from Jambe and brought down with them 14 Chinamen and a boat and a warp to warp up our pinnace. He agreed to give them 1*s*. a day per man.

13th day.—At night there came a Hollander[1] aboard, who the night before came from aboard our ship, and brought us word that she rode at the mouth of the great river and that the Portingall galliot, that five days before passed by us, rode a little within the river's mouth, fearing to go forth because our ship rode at the mouth of the river. After supper, because our rice grew very scarce by reason of the Chinamen that were aboard, Mr. Johnson was sent in the prow of the Hollanders to buy some more to supply our wants.

15th.—Mr. Johnson returned again and brought three bags of rice with him which he had bought aboard of a junk, which cost with the bringing down 9 rials.

17th.—Being about 10 leagues short of Jambe, we met with such a violent current that we were put to extreme trouble, being not able to warp our pinnace ahead, the force of the stream breaking our warp; so that we had much ado to get past this place.

21st.—God be thanked, after a great deal of trouble and much travail taken, we arrived at the town of Jambe. When

we came to anchor we saluted the town with five guns. We found here riding a great many great junks, both Javas and Chinesas, and one Portingall galliot laden and ready to depart. Some of those junks were much bigger than our ship; wherefore we think it not difficult for a ship of 300 tons in time of year. The best time for them to come up is in July or August or in the beginning of September at farthest, for then they may have the tides to friend up as high as Jambe, as the country people report. This night we had conference with our Jurybassa[1] (so appointed by the King) named Cay Chilly, a China slave, concerning the state of our business; from whom we found small encouragements for quiet trade, telling us that the country did abound with thieves and care not to rob and spoil strangers by all means that they can devise, and what by stealth they cannot purchase[2] they will seek by fire to destroy. Further demanding of him where we might hire a convenient house to put our goods in that were anything secure from fire or from the overflowing of water, he answered us that he knew of none, neither could hear of any in all the town fit for our purpose. We desired him that the next morning he would accompany us to the King; which he promised to do.

22nd.—In the morning we all went to the King with our Jurybassa. At our going from the pinnace were shot off 5 guns. When we came to the King's house, where we waited two or three hours before we could come to the speech of the King, at length being admitted we presented him with a damasked piece, two fine white baftas and two blue, withal telling him the cause of our coming into his country: that we were merchantmen and came hither to seek trade and to live in his country, if we might be permitted quietly so to do. He made us answer that to trade with his people we might have free liberty, but ground whereon to build our house we could not obtain, for he told us that he heard evil of us and our nation both by the Hollanders and the Portingalls, and therefore before he saw further of our carriage and good behaviour he could not say anything else to us; but bade us beware of his people, for they were naught and given much to theft; so that here we are like to find no justice against them unless we take them in the action; then we may do with

them as we please, to taking away of his life. The words that were reported of us to the King were that we were a rude and ungoverned nation, given to drunkenness and abusing of women, quarrelling, fighting and such like. We answered him that we did not weigh the backbiting slander of our enemies, but if that after trial had of our demeanour he do find it blameworthy, after our ship was laden we would willingly depart out of his country; and so we took our leaves of him. A while after the Captain of the Portingalls was urged upon such speeches that he had given out of us to the King in our disgrace, but he with many oaths and protestations denied it, saying that, being demanded of the King what manner of people we were, he spoke what he could in our commendations; therefore we imagined the Hollanders to be the authors of all this mischief, as it afterwards did appear.[1] After dinner we went to the young King with a present such as we had given to his father in the forenoon, being thereto counselled by everyone, because he, being a man of equal power with his father, might further us in our suits to the old King, who altogether [had ?] to do for strangers.[2] After we had done and departed, we went with our host Cay Chilly to seek for a house. We looked upon two or three, but for the great inconvenience we saw in them we refused them.

23rd.—This day we went likewise to look upon a house of a Chinaman, which stood upon very good ground and high, close adjoining to the Flemings. Upon speech had with him he was willing to let it for time or sell it outright; so that upon further consideration and speech with Cay Chilly we agreed to pay him for it 1000 gantans[3] of pepper.

24th.—We received a letter from the master of the ship per one of his men whom he sent up of purpose. By the letter we understood that the master had found out the true channel and did purpose to come in; also that there was a Flemish ship named the Œolus arrived at the river's mouth. This day we sent Mr. Johnson down to the ship in a prow with a letter to the master to certify him of the proceeds of our business, being the first time that we had opportunity to write to him.[4]

25th.—Mr. Westby and Wm. Vernon went to the King to inform him that we had bought a house, if it stood with his

liking that we should repair it and make it fit for our use, and that we came therein to know his pleasure. He told us that the Hollanders had been there a little before and had plainly told him that if he gave us leave to trade they would no longer tarry in the country; neither would he grant us that house to dwell in, fearing lest we should fight and quarrel, living so near together, perceiving some enmity between us, but willed us to look out elsewhere for a house farther from them. Mr. Westby made him answer that if it would please him to send for them both to make them friends, he for his part would consent unto that which he thought reasonable, although the wrong which they offered us was neither Christianlike nor neighbourlike. So for present we parted. This day we talked with the Nokada of a Bantam junk concerning the hiring of a room in his father-in-law's house (an old China slave) to put our pepper in as we bought it, but he would not let it out to [put?] pepper in.

No endorsement.

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John Jourdain to the East India Company.

Bantam, the 30th of September, anno 1615.

RIGHT Honourable and Right Worshipful, May it please you to understand that I would not omit to write these few lines, although very doubtful whether ever they shall come to your hands, yet because of the faithful promise made by the bearer I thought it not amiss to remember my duty, as also in brief to relate some principal points of the estate of this country, viz. And first of all to begin with the shipping which are come and departed from Bantam: the James[1] and Globe, being richly laden, departed hence in February, the James the 1st and the Globe the 21st ditto, the James being appointed to stay for her at the Cape 30 days. The 13th of

February arrived here General David Middleton with three ships viz. the Samaritan, the Thomas and the Thomasine. The 24th ditto the Thomasine departed hence for Amboina and Banda with a stock of 10,000 rials of eight in clothing of Cambaia and money. The 14th of March departed the Thomas for Tecoo and Priaman with a cargazon of 14,000 rials of Suratte and Cambaia goods. The 3rd of April departed the Samaritan for England laden with pepper and some packs of Guzarate cloth and a parcel of diamonds, as per the bill of lading. The 10th of April departed the Osiander for Potanny and from thence bound for Jappan with a parcel of Guzarate cloth and some other goods she was to take in at Pottany. The 20th ditto here arrived an English junk from Pottany, which brought the Darling's ordnance and men with some small quantity of benjamin, the Darling being there laid up, being insufficient for service as they report, her capital there remaining in the hands of Robert Larkin. The 5th [1] of May here arrived a Holland ship from Macasar and brought all the English except one from thence, leaving their goods to the value of 8,000 rials behind them.[2] The occasion was, as they report, there were certain Spaniards with one ship and two galleys,[3] who fought with the Fleming, for fear of which they left the place, the Flemings bringing all their goods from thence and their people. The 12th of June arrived the General Nicholas Dowton with two ships, viz. the New Year's Gift and the Solomon, the Hector being gone for Achin, which we daily expect. The 21st of July departed the Solomon for Pottany with some China commodities, and from thence she is to go for Mussapotan (Masulipatam), having taken in all commodities and money fitting for that place which doth remain of the Sixth, Seventh, and Ninth Voyages.[4] The 24th of July arrived the Advice and the Attendant. The 6th of August died the General, Nicholas Dowton; and the 12th ditto departed the Advice for Jappon with some 3,000 rials of Guzaratte cloth, besides the goods which she brought for that place. The 14th of August arrived the Concord from Sacadana, having re-established the factory of Macasar and received again the goods there left, as likewise supplied the factories of Sacadana and Bengarmasen, being beaten away by the Hollanders' forces from the Moullucas, the country people being willing to receive them, as per our next

at large we will advise, God willing. The 16th ditto we had heavy news of the casting away of the Thomasine coming from Macasar and bound for Gracia[1] upon Java some 20 leagues off Macasar for want of good looking out; all her men, God be thanked, saved and came to Bantam in their boat and brought all their money, only their ship and cloth lost, amounting to some 5,000 rials.

Thus have I made a brief discourse of all the shipping in the country. Now for the estate of Bantam. It is at present very bare of money, for that the China junks doth carry all for China, and the Hollanders all [are ?] ill provided and we not altogether of the best; notwithstanding, I have provided pepper[2] near to lade two ships, but the year is so bad that I doubt I shall not receive the one half. God willing, we will do our best to despatch the New Year's Gift, the Hector and Thomas this year, and I hope by the month[3] of November at farthest. Mr. Elkington is determined to return,[4] for the which I am very sorry, for that I was in good hope to have gone home this year or at least not to have remained any longer in Bantam, but that your Worships' bounty towards me doth so far oblige me that I am content[5] to spend my life in your service. This being in brief all that at present I dare presume to write I end, praying the Almighty to augment and bless all your proceedings to His glory and the good of our country. Amen.

Your servant to be commanded at
your Worships' pleasure,
Jno. Jourdain.

Addressed: To the Right Honourable and Right Worshipful Company of Merchants Trading to the East Indias give these in London, per the Greene Lev,[6] whom God preserve.

Endorsed: John Jourdaine, dated in Bantam, the 30 September 1615. Received in London 14 June 1616, by a Holland pinnace. Answered. Entered.

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Thomas Elkington to the East India Company.

Laus Deo in Bantam road, aboard the New Year's Gift,
the 2nd October 1615.

HONOURABLE Sir and Worshipful Sirs, My duty premised etc. The bad quarter kept by the Hollanders with us doth almost assure me these letters shall never come unto your hands, or at least not in that manner as they ought to do; therefore at present will be the briefer and only advise of such main occurrences which have happened since my last, referring you to larger advice per the New Year's Gift, who, I hope, will be laden and herehence ready to depart for England within forty days at farthest.

My last was of the 25th February,[1] with postcript of the 10th March at sea, by the Merchant's Hope, from whom we parted that night, she directing her course for England and the Gift, Hector, and Solomon for Sumatra and Bantam. The 26th following we parted from the Hector, having with goods and moneys fitting despatched her for Achynn, Pryaman and Tecoa, purposing to have touched at Pryaman with the other two ships, but being thwart the place we were so crossed with stormy and contrary winds that we could by no means attain it; so after two or three days spent to no purpose we bore up for Bantam, where the Solomon arrived the 2nd[2] June and the Gift the 14th of the same, losing company within 15 leagues of Bantam. The Gift riding in deep water was driven from her anchoring and so put to leeward, which was the reason she was so long after the Solomon, both of them having had a very tedious passage between Surrat and this place; yet, God be thanked, our men held out very well in health.

Since our departure from the Hector we have not heard from her, she being directed first to touch at Achynn to deliver the King's letter, and there to make as little stay as might be, but to proceed for Pryaman and Tecoa, where if she found not likelihood

of lading to make the more haste to Bantam to make provision there for it, or howsoever to be here that she might be ready to depart herehence for England about the prime of November. So now we expect her every hour, and hope laden, in regard she stayeth so long. God send her in safety. In her went for merchants Mr. John Oxwicke, Edward[1] Aspynall, John Sandcrofte and Samuel Juxon; and for assistants, Robert Johnson and Esay Butt.

Before our arrival at Bantam it was intended the New Year's Gift should have gone for Japann or the Mollokos, and the Solomon for Mosylapatam; but upon our arrival at Bantam we found the factory of Bantam altogether unprovided of commodities fitting that place, as also the Osiander not long before gone thither and the Concord and Thomasine for the Mollokos and Banda; so that it was thought fitting by a council not to send her. But our General, unwilling to lie still, had determined to have gone for to discover the east side of Sumatra, to spend time till new pepper; but not to be done without a pinnace, for which purpose he sent men on work upon a small junk which came from Pattanie with the Darling's men and provision, who was there laid up as unserviceable and not to be repaired.[2]

The Solomon we furnished with such commodities as this place afforded and sent her the 20th July for Moslypatam and in her for merchants George Chancie, Raph Preston, Humphry Elkington, Tymothie Mallorie, Richard Pytt and George Savadge; she being to touch at Patanie and there to take in some other goods and moneys with Mr. Gurnie or Mr. Lucas Anthonies, if Mr. Gurnie should be deceased, hoping by them your Worships shall have a factory settled there,[3] the cloth of that place much more fitting for these parts than the cloth of Surrat.

The 25th July, God be thanked, here arrived in safety the Advice and Attendant and in them Mr. Robert Yewarte, by whom we received your Worships' letters with invoice and bills of lading, all which goods contained in them (the iron and money excepted) with as much brevity as the time would permit we sent for Japann in the Advice, and in her for cape merchant the said Mr. Robert Yewart, having, over and above what came out of England, laden in her in other commodities from hence to the value of 7,300 rials,

the particulars whereof per the next you shall receive.[1] She departed herehence the 10th August, having order directly to go for Japan and not to touch at Patanie or Syam, doubting the year to be too far spent to perform the one and other. These ships being at the Cape met there with the Globe and James bound for England, to whom they spared 18 men with some other provisions, they departing towards England the 17th May (where I hope ere this they are safely arrived), and the Advice and Attendant hitherward the day following; meeting, some ten days after their departure from the Cape, with a ship, but could not speak with her, which we hope to be the Merchant's Hope or Samaritan.[2]

The 6th August it pleased God to call to His mercy the General, Captain Nicholas Dounton; after whose interring, according to your Worships' order, we called a council of merchants and masters, such as were present, and opening the boxes No. 1 and 2[3] we found it was your Worships' order that in the absence or decease of Mr. Wm. Edwards and Nicholas Ensworth I should succeed, which your said order I do with all humility obey and do purpose, God sending me life, to return for England in your ship the New Year's Gift, having already re-delivered to Mr. John Jourdain what goods and else I received from him, having but a small time before the General's decease begun to receive of him, sickness from my first arrival in Bantam till then hindering me from more speedy performance of it. So have left him your chief in Bantam, myself coming presently aboard the ship, where I do remain.

The Attendant, so soon as we could fit the pinnace, which the Gift brought out of England, we sent away for to discover the east side of Sumatra,[4] and principally to a place called Jambee, where we are informed is store of pepper and hope of gold; having fitted her with such commodities as is needful, and in her sent for merchants Mr. Richard Westbie, Jno. Tucker and Wm. Vernon; she, with her pinnace called the Assistant, departing the 12th[5] of September. God send them a prosperous voyage.

As yet there is little or no pepper come in, the year being very backward and will not yield by report half of what the last year; withal for want of rain will be very small. Nevertheless hope,

if the Hector and Thomas have any good success at Pryaman, you will have them with the Gift laden home this year; nothing being to be expected from the Mollokos or Banda, the Flemings per force having beaten away the Concord and Thomasine from thence, so attending on them with greater force than theirs that they could land nowhere. The Concord arrived here about the 13th August, leaving the Thomasine at Macassar to come away within three or four days after; which she did, but the same night she put from thence she was by the most vile negligence of Raphe Willsonn the master and company cast away within 12 leagues of Macassar upon an island uninhabited, all being asleep when she struck aground saving him at the helm (as Mr. Bayly the merchant of her reporteth). The men were all saved and what money was in her and came hither in their boat, the place where they were cast away being distant from hence a matter of 270 leagues.

Our men hitherto, God be thanked, hath remained in reasonable good health, but now upon the alteration of the monsone and rains coming in some begin to fall down; therefore wish our lading were ready that we might be dispeeded from hence, being now the most dangerous time of the year. Of your Worships' factors sent in the second voyage of the Joint Stock[1] and appointed for Bantam are dead since we came here Edward Holmden and Richard Battie. God send health to the rest.

At this very instant is come into the road a small pinnace of your Worships' built at Bantam called the Speedwell. She came from Puloway and is laden with some 80 suckells[2] mace and the rest nuts;[3] the merchant of her Sophony Cossucke, who hath left at Puloway two Englishmen with goods, and hath brought with him a principal of the Oroncaias, who cometh with letters and in the name of all the rest to confer about business concerning your Worships' trade whereof hereafter you shall have more larger advice, having had as yet scarce time of speech with them.

Thus have I briefly advised you of our main proceedings here, referring you for more particulars till the arrival of the Gift or some other of your Worships' ships, which I hope will not be long after this, being very doubtful (as I have said) of the delivery

of these. So do for the present humbly take my leave, committing you and your Worships' affairs to the merciful protection of the Almighty, and rest

Your servant to be commanded,

Tho. Elkington.

Addressed: To the Honourable Knight Sir Thomas Smith, Governor, the Deputy, and Committees of the Right Honourable and Right Worshipful Company of Merchants of London Trading to the East Indies dd. in London. Per the Green Lion of Holland.

Endorsed: Thomas Elkington, dated in Bantam, the 2nd of October, 1615. Received in London the 14th June, 1616, by a Holland pinnace. Entered.

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A DESCRIPTION of the moneys, weights and measures which are current in the kingdom of Persia and especially in Spahan, the chiefest city; with a declaration of what commodities the countries doth afford, and what of our English gross commodities are vendible,[1] viz.

Moneys.

The chiefest money that is current in Persia is the Abase,[2] which weigheth 2 metzicales.[3]

The second is the mamede,[4] which is half an abesse.

The third is the shahey[5] and is a quarter of an abesse.

In the rial of eight are 13 shayes.

In the cheken[6] of Venetia 20 shayes.

In a shaye are 2½ Bisties or casbeges[7] 10.

One bistey is 4 casbeges or 2 tanges.[8]

The Abasse, momede and shahey and bistey are of silver; the rest are of copper like to the pissas of India.

Weights.

The weights are generally drames[1] and differ much one from another in many parts of this kingdom, as Zegam[2] weights differeth from Towrise[3] and Towrise weights differeth from Spahan. But the weight of Spahan is 1200 drames per batman;[4] the half Mahan,[5] drams 600; the quarter 300; the $\frac{1}{8}$ part is drames 150; and so consequently they deduct their great weights unto the least denomination, even unto a metzicall or caratt.

Measures.

The measure for cloth and kerseys and all other sorts of coarse canvases or linen is by computation our English yard and an inch, or 37 inches.

The measures of all silks, stuffs, velvets, damasks, cloth of silver, and cloth of gold are agreeable with the pike[6] of Aleppo, which is 27 inches.

The chiefest commodity that Persia affordeth is raw silks, and worth at present 13 dollars rials per batman of 1,200 drams.

Rhubarb doth grow in Corosson,[7] and is worth per batman 40 shayes.

Wormseeds likewise doth grow in Corosson, and worth per batman 40 shaies.

Carpets of all sorts, both of silk and gold, silk and silver, of half cotton and half silk, of all cotton, are sold by the choice of the eye, of which commodities the country hath tore.

For the vent of our English commodities, I think that yearly the country of Persia will vent five or six hundred broadcloths and a thousand coloured kerseys, but all of light colours, as Venice reds, stammels, purple velvets, light watchets,[8] greens, both grass and popinjay. And being cloths of 12 or 13 pounds prices, will yield per coueto of 37 inches, 12 abases or 4 dollars rials; if cloths of 7*l.* or 7*l.* 10*s.* price, they will yield per couetto 8 abeses or 32 shayes.

Light coloured kerseys of 12 yards long will yield here, if sold by couetto, 20 or 22 shahies per couetto; if per piece, 55 or 56 abasseas, which is about 17 dollars rials.

Tin is worth per mahan of 1200 drames 80 shayes.
Lead worth per mahan 8[1] shayes.
Steel worth per mahan 20 shayes.
Iron worth per mahan 24 shayes.
Copper worth per mahan 50 shayes.
Pepper worth per mahan 40 shayes.
Cinnamon worth per mahan 36 shayes.
Cloves worth per mahan 55 abasses, being 16 dollars rials.
Sugar worth per mahan 30 shayes.

I have informed of these spices and the prices to the end that you may judge what good to be done of them, also of sugars; conferring the mahan or batman of this country with that of India, which, God willing, by Mr. Crowder I will better inform of, now that we have spent 25 days in Spahan. The one half was in following of Sir Robert Shurley for this fermanes received, and in the other part of that time we could do but little, in having not the help of any brokers, for that we dare not trust them, not so much as to ask their counsels and helps.

Your loving friend to command,
Richard Steell.

Endorsed (by Steel): A brief of the moneys, weights and measures of Persia; together with the prices of what comodities the country yieldeth, and also what English commodities is vendible and at what rates. For Agra and Suratt.

Also endorsed: Moneys, weights and measures of Persia, collected by Richard Steele in Persia, 1615.

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Laus Deo, the 9th October, anno 1615. Patania.[2]

WHEREAS it was thought good and agreed upon[3] by Mr. Lucas Antheuniss and Mr. John Gournye, cape merchants of the Seventh and Ninth Voyages, that the ship the Solomon should remain in Patania and so delay her passage for the Coast till the month of April next,

thereby to have time to provide what goods may possibly be gathered for the increasing of her stock, both at Syam but chiefly in Patania, and finding it impossible, if she should depart with this present monson, to frame a sufficient cargazon to such a charge, and that Mr. John Gourny, who is appointed by commission to take charge as principal of the business of the voyage, could not be cleared from Syam time enough to go with this said monson, it being very needful that a man of experience of both places should be at the buying of goods at the Coast, because that directions without the eye of the experienced can by no means give satisfaction nor please the humour of the people of those parts of Syam, Patania, etc., because they do so often change and alter the fashions and paintings of their cloths: all which allegations being duly considered of by the court in general, it is thought good and concluded upon as followeth:—

Imprimis, Considering the doubtfulness of employments which is expected in Patania, by reason that the Hollander layeth wait for all the silk that comes hither, they having, partly by their own means and partly by the ill-usage of the Chineses in Patania, drawn all the junks to Sangora,[1] where they have a factory settled and no man without their licence may buy any there, so that a very small quantity is to be hoped for; and for gross commodities as lacree,[2] brasil wood, etc., which is to be expected from Siam, there can no quantity be taken into the ship if it should come, she being already almost full; having also order by a commission from the General and Chief Agent in no wise to put our monson in hazard, much less to lose it, which will cause a greater charge than can any way be countervailed by the goods we doubtfully expect; also having intelligence from Bantam that if a ship be not especially sent out of England for the Coast to be there in October next, that then one of the Surratt fleet shall be sent from Bantam thither, and to have two ships there at once with like commodities, it cannot but greatly hinder the proceedings of the business at the Coast; and to conclude this point, the long time the ship will require in trimming will cause the loss of a whole year at least, besides other inconvenience, as want of provisions and men, which such

long abode in the country is incident unto. Now the chief occasion that remains to hinder our proceedings for the Coast this monson is the finding of a man well experienced both at the Coast and those parts, wherefore it was generally thought good that Mr. Lucas Anthuniss (if he would be content) might proceed in the place of Mr. John Gournye, no hope of his coming remaining; which he was willing to agree unto, considering the necessity of the time did urge the same, being content to defer his proceeding to Bantam to do the Worshipful Company service in a business that so greatly concerns them. And because that he desired to have men that had formerly had experience of the Coast to go with him to assist him in the business, it was agreed that Adam Denton, and Thomas Brockedon, that had formerly been employed there, should proceed with him, together with Ralph Preston, Humphrie Elkingtonn and Timothie Mallery, factors come along in the said ship.

Item, It is further agreed upon that, seeing Mr. Lucas Anthuenison and Mr. John Gournye, in a resolution taken in Syam,[1] have ordained Benjamin Farie to take the chief charge of the factory there, we, finding it also so convenient, do confirm the same and that he depart thither with the monson that comes, to be there in January or February next. But if at his coming there he shall find Mr. Gournie determined to remain there, seeing he is disappointed of going for the Coast, then he may at his pleasure return back for Patania, and stay here or depart with the first for Bantam or any other place where he may do the Company service. And it is ordained that George Savvidge and Richard Pitt should proceed with the said Benjamine Farie to assist in the business there, and to be ranked according as they shall deserve. But because George Savvidge hath very small maintenance from the Company, who before had been steward's mate of the Gift, but was preferred by General Downton at Bantam in the rank of an assistant, but was referred for the allowance of his maintenance unto Mr. John Gourny, with whom he was to proceed in the voyage, and because one third thereof will not maintain a man of his place, it is agreed upon that he shall have 50 rials of eight per annum for his maintenance, and refer the increasing of his wages to the Right Worshipful Com-

pany at home, who have ever been ready to reward those that shall deserve well.

Item, It is also agreed upon that Mr. Robert Larkin shall remain chief of the factory of Patania, assisted with John Browne, purser's mate of the Solomon, who was thought fitting for the place, who also having very small wages, it was agreed that for his maintenance he should, like unto the other, have 50 rials of eight per annum, and likewise that his wages should be referred to the Worshipful Company to reward him according to his deserts.

And whereas George Chauncy, deceased, by his last will and testament ordained that so much of his goods being sold for ready money as would pay his debts, charges of burial and legacies, the rest should be sold at the mainmast to pay at home, so it is that this council have not thought it so fitting for divers considerations, and principally the Worshipful Company's articles forbidding the same,[1] but that the said goods should be transported to the stock of the Right Worshipful Company, rated at the prices as they cost in Bantam,[2] and what profit shall be allowed his executors for the same is to be referred [to] the said Right Worshipful Company at home, as they shall think convenient.

Lastly, Mr. Lucas Antheuniss demanding in court present satisfaction for the one half of the charges of building and purchasing a godone and houses in Patania according to an agreement made with Mr. Gourny in Siam,[3] but because the said Mr. Gourny gave no order by writing for the same the payment thereof was deferred to be allowed by the Worshipful Company at home.

Lucas Antheuniss.	Thomas Brockedon.
Adam Denton.	Benjamin Farie.
Hugh Bennett.	Raphe Preston.
Robert Larkin.	Humphry Elkington.
William Sheppard.	Timothy Mallory.

Whereas the Right Honourable and Right Worshipful Company, having united all their particular Voyages into one Joint Stock, have given order both by their letters unto particular

Voyages and in general to all factories, and also by a commission granted unto the Worshipful General Downton, that the factors of the same after the coming away of the last ships of the same Voyage should balance up all remainders of goods, moneys, and good debts, and deliver the same over unto the chief factor of Bantam to be brought unto the Joint Stock; having also especial order from General Downton and the chief factor in Bantam to put the same in execution, We, Adam Denton, Robert Larkin and Benjamine Fary, according to the several orders aforesaid, have passed the said goods, moneys and good debts, remaining in Patania belonging to the Sixth, Seventh and Ninth Voyages over into the Joint Stock, as per the inventories delivered Mr. Ralphe Copindall appeareth; but now Mr. Lucas Antheuniss, cape merchant of the Seventh Voyage, coming from Siam and finding the moneys etc. belonging to the Seventh Voyage also passed over, notwithstanding the aforesaid reasons alleged, refused to allow of the same for divers reasons to himself best known,[1] but requireth the same to be returned to his particular Voyage, and to make particular employment thereof and refer the deciding thereof to the Right Worshipful Company at home. Dated in Patania, this 9th of October anno 1615.

Lucas Antheuniss.

Endorsed: 1615, the 9th October. A Court of Merchants held in Puttania, Mr. Lucas principal.

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Sir Thomas Roe to the Governor of Surat.[2]

Demands and complaints sent to the Governor of Suratt by me, the 12th October 1615.

FIRST, contrary to the articles confirmed by the Great Mogul[3] the English goods are taken by violence, the merchants reviled, their servants beaten, their money taken away by peons and some of their cloths stolen in the Custom house,[4] and nothing suffered to be landed but such things as may please the humour of the Governor.

No order taken in the Custom house to give any despatch without the Governor be present, though the King's dues and customs and all other rights be offered ; and when he is there it is shared at his pleasures.

No man suffered to pass to or from the ships without particular licence, but our people are kept two or three days, whereby much hindrance and loss ariseth to our business.

Divers poor men at Swally have been cruelly whipped for selling a hen or some refreshing to the ships, contrary to one express article.

If an Englishman buy but to the value of four mamudoes to clothe him, [yet it ?] is not suffered to pass the river, though custom be offered, contrary to [the ?] articles.

If any Englishman land with a little money for expense, though he offer custom yet the money is taken away and he is forced to become a suitor for his own, and often knows not who hath it.

Small pieces of plate brought for use, and a few knives, not to sell, are by violence taken away and kept, as also the wearing-swords of some of the Ambassador's servants; and though often demanded they are yet detained.

Divers presents as well to the Great Mogull as other things to give away to such as are friends to the English, at the discretion of the Ambassador, with the money for the Ambassador's expense in his voyage to Agra are yet detained in the boat and not suffered to land, contrary to the league of the two mighty Princes of England and India and to the laws of all nations.

A small bottle of wine sent to a sick Englishman kept away to the danger of his life, notwithstanding the Ambassador sent his own surgeon to help a Guzuratt in extremity, at the first motion of the Governor.

To all which abuses the Lord Ambassador in the name of the Great Mogull doth require reformation, being assured, upon refusal that the Mogull, being a King of great renown and of royal descent, will do him justice for such injuries as he shall be forced to complain of, and that he is resolved to rely no longer on the Governor's promises but will speedily repair to the Court, being sent from one mighty Prince to another and not to any [underling ?].

Lastly, for such moneys as serve for the Ambassador's expense in his journey and for the presents to the Great Mogull and the other things belonging to the Ambassador now arrived and detained, he requires to have them sent to his house without abuse or delay; if any custom be required (though it be against all justice) his servants are ready to discharge it, but hereof he will advertise the Great Mogull, submitting it to his censure. But in refusal of these his just demands he will with all expedition depart without them and leave them in his hands, certifying the Great Mogull how his presents and goods and moneys are detained, and with what disgrace he hath been here used, being an Ambassador of a free Prince. But if yet these shall be in good sort delivered, he then requires what aid and assistance for his safety and the carriage of the King's presents will be here given him, which is both due by the laws of all nations and shall be for the honour of the King his master the Great Mogull.

To all which demands the Ambassador requires a present answer that accordingly he may proceed in his employment. And whereas the Governor did refuse to sign the thirteen articles offered by the Ambassador,[1] he requires to have them redelivered.

Endorsed : Complaints of the Ambassador at Surat, October 12, 1615.

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John Sandcroft and Edmund Aspinall to the East India Company.[2]

Laus Deo in Tecoa, the 12th of October 1615.

RIGHT Honourable and Right Worshipful, Our humble duties remembered, with our hearty prayers to God for your good health and prosperous success in all your affairs.

It pleased our General to send in the Hector for Achine John Oxwick, Samuell Juxson and us two, we parting from him and the Solomon the 26th of March 1615, being in sight of the island

of Zeland.[1] We arrived at Achine the 15th of April. The King's chope coming aboard giving us free liberty to come ashore, we two went to the city of Achine, where we were kindly entertained and that night did take a house, the King then being some 25 leagues off at another city called Pedire.[2] The 17th John Oxwick and Samuell Juxon came to us ashore, and consulting what was best to be done it was agreed that John Oxwick and Samuell Juxon should go to the King, it being uncertain of the King's coming to Achine. The 18th they went, carrying with them our King's letter and also some presents, and the 3rd of May they returned to Achine with the King. Shortly after, we agreed with the King for 100 bahares of iron at 91½ maces the bahare, which is six tale less one rial of eight; which was delivered and 3 bahars more, and after to the bishop[3] 102 caties; so iron sold in all 103 bahars, 102 catties, at the price aforesaid. All which time till the 10th of June Mr. Oxwick did follow the court's business, but making us little or nothing at all acquainted therewith; but, as we were credibly informed by his linguist and others that since his coming from Pedire he had moved the King but two times in all for our trade at Priaman or Tecoa, only desiring answer of our King's letter and custom free at Priaman and Tecoa, which custom free was denied him, he not taking the right course to obtain our licence for trade, although we told him the way divers times as we were informed by divers merchants who had heretofore obtained the same there, and as after we found to be true; he so carrying himself (after he had gotten the King's letter answered) that he did grow in contempt with the King and his nobility, insomuch as that the King did forbid him the court; which we having notice of did again advise him to go and give a sum of money to the Wran Caia Lassaman and he would procure us a licence of free trade, but again he scornfully denied our advice; and we having stayed there so long and having lost many of our folks, as likewise having notice that we should never get the King's licence by reason of his light[4] carriage and crossing of the King and other great men, and that the King told Mr. Oxwick if he had used him and his people well he would have given him our despatch long sithence, and that it was Mr. Oxwick's fault of our long stay, and the Wran Caia did oftentimes say the like

before us and divers others; so we were enforced to write to our master, willing him to come ashore that we might take some good course for our honourable employers, and that we might spend no more time in vain. At whose coming, we making him acquainted with Mr. Oxwick's proceedings, the master and we went to the Arancaia Lassaman, who had sent for us two before, and to know his pleasure, desiring his advice and counsel; who there did say that the King was highly displeased with Mr. Oxwick and if we desired trade at Priaman and Tecoa some other should solicit the King; for Mr. Oxwick was a man *macha ruina*,[1] further saying that by good words we might obtain our desire, but with evil words never. Also he persuaded our master to go visit the King (which was but for a bribe), saying it was the order of shipmasters so to do, and after, working the ordinary means, any of us might do it; and so promised to do us what kindness he could, and so we departed from him. That night our master did acquaint Mr. Oxwick what he had heard, and advised him in friendly manner to go aboard, pretending himself to be sick, which indeed he was, having a flux for two days before; which he denied to do, and so two days after he presuming to come to the presence of the King, thrusting boldly into the King's barge, which the King seeing commanded one of his guards to thrust him through with his lance, which, if it had not been for one Aurang Caia Hetam it had been done, but he entreated the King to spare his life in regard he was a stranger, so he escaped; which we had present notice of and then our master again entreated him to be quiet and either stay at home or go aboard and some other would follow the business, he being in that case. But he then began to rail of his linguist and used very evil words against him and others. The master, seeing he could do nothing with him by fair means, sent aboard for his commission and for two of his mates with the purser and gunner and reading his commission told us that if we found our honourable employers wronged by Mr. Oxwick's doings, we should draw our grievances in writing and deliver them unto him, and he with the aid of a council would seek to redress it. So we and Samuell Joxon did set down the same in writing under our hands and gave them to the master,[2] and the said council did order that he should give over his place and go

aboard; which Mr. Oxwick hearing desired that Mr. Spaight would follow the court in that cause. So the council appointed our master to follow it in his place; who, following that counsel which formerly Mr. Oxwick would no way give ear unto, obtained licence for free trade at Priaman, Tecoo and Baruse (Baros), but cost much more than if Mr. Oxwick would have followed our counsel at the first; for when he was in favour with the King, if he would have given to the Wran Caia Lassaman some 30 tale to have procured our licence it would have been had, for so one of the Wran Caia's men did offer it[1] to us two, but as before Mr. Oxwicke would no way yield unto it, saying he did know what to do, and he scorned to be taught as a child. In this time of Mr. Oxwick's soliciting the court's business he had given away in presents, with those which was appointed by our General (which cost the first penny 150 rials of eight), Mr. Spaight and others gave away, which came to 617 rials of eight, as the particulars in our journal appears, part whereof being duties due,[2] besides one piece of ordnance, one anchor and one barrel of powder.

In this time of our stay we sold in fine white baftas 151, some for 3½ for one profit, some for 3, some for 2½ and some for 2¼; and at our coming away we sold 40 (which is part of the 151 aforesaid) to the captain of the Hollanders for 3½ for one profit; as those which cost 12 mamoodies we sold for 42 masses, and did take bills of exchange for the payment of the money at Bantam, the which we have sent to Mr. Elkington, being 321 rials of eight. Coarse baftas white we have sold 454, as some which cost 47 and 50 per cordge at 7½ maces per piece, those of 60 mamodes the corge at 9 maces the piece, those at 54 at 143 maces per cordge, or in circa;[3] these in regard of their shortnesss was not in so good request. Nile[4] baftas and byrams we sold only 3 pieces, as one byram for 8 maces and two[5] for 7½ the piece, the rial of eight going here for 5 maces. We might have sold more of these sorts, as also candikines, if that we would have set a low rate; but the King having many here to sell (having taken a Gozerat) and we hearing of the wants at Priaman and Tecoa,[6] would not sell any under foot for spoiling our market there. For shashes, girdles, looking-glasses and comb-cases, we could sell none of them

to any good profit; so sold none at all. For our fowling-pieces, we were offered little or nothing for them, so they were given to the King[1] as presents; as also swords[2] we sold not any, yet the King sent a Sabandar to buy 30 and we sold him them for 30 maces a piece, but Mr. Oxwick being there would not let him take them away till he brought money, we persuading him otherwise but he would not let them go; only two he let go and did take his ring in pawn of them, which thing was very distasteful unto the King, so he would not have them.

For our moneys, we there received in maces, having advice that we might here employ it and rather make profit to our employers than carry the gold, in which would be great loss. As likewise, knowing how General Best did buy goods there in like manner, so we invested 946 maces in Achine stuffs, being 99 pieces, also in steel of Surat 10,000 ends at 20 maces for 100; and we procured 2,260 rials of eight, which we have brought along with us.

About the 22nd of June the Thomas came into the road of Achine, having been here at Tecoa to have traded but could not without the King's letter of Achine. We hearing of an English ship to be in the road John Sandcroft went aboard and advised them of all our proceedings and what was best to be done for the good of our honourable masters, being then all servants to one Company;[3] likewise informed them that the King had granted us licence to trade to Priaman, Tecoa and Barouse, and that the King of his own motion urged us as it were to leave a factory there at Achine, and that we were resolved to leave a man or two with goods. Also he told them that the King of Achine would send along with us a Governor for Tecoo. Further he told them that he thought there was not goods enough in the country to load both our ships, and that, considering our great charges, the procuring of our licence cost a great deal of money, so willed them to say they were put in here by distress of weather and for refreshing, and at their coming ashore we would all join together to advise what was best to be done.[4] But they, disliking that advice, gave it forth that they had the King of England's letter to the King of Achine and presents for him, which after the King had heard of, could not be recalled but must be delivered, if but for the presents only, which

they are greatly addicted unto. At the merchants of the Thomas coming ashore we met all together sundry times in private, they willing us to go to Bantam, for that the Hector was great and would not get her full lading here; to which we answered we had been at great charges in procuring a licence and therefore thought it fitting rather the Thomas should go, she having been at little charge and that it would cost them a great sum of money and loss of time to procure that which we had gotten. The 29th June it was concluded amongst us all[1] that the Hector should proceed on her pretended voyage, they pretending by the report of William Nicolls that they could procure to settle a free factory at Priaman, or Tecoo, which we were utterly denied of; upon which report we promised that if the Thomas came to Priaman or Tecoo and brought a licence for to settle a free factory there, and if that there were not lading sufficient for us both, that then we would give over the place and be gone; but if the Thomas did not get free liberty to settle a factory there as aforesaid, then the Thomas to go to Bantam and leave us to our free trade, the one assisting the other either with goods, merchants or otherwise. Further we concluded to leave Samuell Juxon, William Nicolls and one other, which the Thomas would spare them, to stay as factors there, we leaving with them out of the Hector 205 fine white baftas of sundry prices, received out of one bale No. 13, which cost first penny 4,042 mamodes 12 pices: more 779 coarse white baftas of sundry sorts, which cost first penny 2,153 mamodes and an half: more 5 sword-blades and one comb-case; which sorts of baftas we found to be most vendible in that place.

There came a junk from Jore (Johor), having in her some pepper. We enquired the price; they demanded 6½ tayle per bahare. Also sundry boats came from Priaman, but the King sent commandment that they should sell no pepper to the English, and after the King bought it himself at 5 tale the bahare. Nutmegs worth 11 or 12 tale the bahare; cloves at 32 and 34 tale the bahare but few in town; ambergris at 100 tayle the catty; indigo Serkese at 7 or 8 maces the catty; opium (if good) at 30 or 32 maces the catie; benjamin, 2 maces the cattie. Chintes and pintadoes not once asked for; neither tuconies.

Their King is very cruel, keeping his people in great slavedom. He was setting forth a great fleet of galleys against Molacca, as it was said; but their words and deeds seldom agree. The King made great enquiry for a corselet and a helmet, such as our nobles wear in tilting, which we think would be a present well accepted of by him. He is in stature not much differing from Mr. Cletherall.[1] Also he takes great delight in dogs, and hearing there was two aboard of the Hector was very desirous of them, the one an Island (Iceland) cur of our master's, the other a shepherd's cur. These two, being given the King, was daily as he went abroad led after him with two sundry slaves. It is said he gladly would have a water spaniel. Also a case of hot drinks were a fit present for him, for he delights greatly in drinking and to make men drunk. The King of Jore, which is now there, having married his sister, although he be his prisoner do often drink drunk together. At this place of Jore might be good done in sending a small ship thither, but for that we have not as yet learned the right description of the place, as also of Pegu, we omit to write thereof, endeavouring to enquire farther of those places and then to write. If your Honours resolve to continue still a factory at Achine, a man of good carriage with a humble spirit were fitting to be there; for when the King goeth abroad they must sometimes give attendance of him,[2] for these men are desirous of honour and to have good words. By such a factor other factories might be procured hereabouts, and although he will not suffer any factory (as we take it) at Priaman or here by reason the coming of the ships to Achine doth bring many presents and other commodities to him, yet in time it might be our ships might have licence to trade in shorter time, not staying so long there (to the loss of many men), or some other good way procured.

For iron we think that Achine will vent yearly 150 bahares or 200; also fine white baftas; coarse white baftas of 62 mamodes per corge; fine Nell baftas of 62 mamodes per corge will vent a good quantity yearly there to do profit; some small quantity of indigo; wheat a small quantity, two and a half or three for one; of which matters we have written Mr. Aldworth. Red cloth we think would vent some small quantity, for our men sold their cloaks and horsemen's coats at dear rates, and one having a

coarse piece of a red stained northern kersey sold it at 4 maces per yard; lead at 13 tale the bahare. The Hollands factors hath little doings there for that they want goods of Surat. At our staying there we lost about 24 men (Mr. Oxwicke being one thereof, who died the 20th of June). By reason of drinking of rack excessively (whereof there is too much) most of our men came to their ends.

The 6th of July, having by the king's appointment the Polima[1] of Tecoo aboard with six other of his retainers, we set sail about four in the morning, and so stood off to the sea, having a contrary wind all the way, so that we were at sea from the 6th ditto till the 5th of October, on which day, God be thanked, we anchored before Tecoo having lost at sea two men, as Isay Bute and a sailor. At our being at sea and before we willed our master to put into Barouse, but he fearful of the shoals would not, although we had a pilot;[2] at which place we were in hope to have vented some goods and also to have bought some benjamim and to have despatched in short time. The 6th we two went ashore here with the Polima, and there, he sitting in the Custom house with the principals of this place, we presented[3] the King's letter of Achine or free licence, which was openly read in the presence of all the people; at the hearing of which letter we were promised all kindness they could do us, although we find it as yet otherwise; for having agreed for a house three several times and paid the rent beforehand, they went from their words and gave us our money again; so that we have not a house as yet; but now they are building one for us which as they say will be ready within this two days. Within this three or four days we intend to send to Priaman and there to make trial what will be done there. Here is great store of pepper and the people desirous to trade with us and want of such commodities as we have to supply them with; but the Polima (as we are informed) doth persuade the people to hold off their hands from buying, as also to hold up the price of their pepper, and that they should not as yet resort unto us. Yet we are in great hope to put off the most of our goods here, and also to get most or all our lading, if the Thomas hinder us not, who we left at Achine and told them of 400 bahares of pepper that was there to be

bought, which we might have had if Mr. Oxwick had been willing; so if the Thomas get that 400 and after come hither, we trust there will be lading for us both. But the people is wondrous full of delays, so what time we shall despatch, having not as yet begun, we cannot write.

There is three ships Hollanders at Priaman, which hath been seventeen months from Holland; their General having lost 170 men, and if by chance the other two had not found him he had been lost, having but eight men in the ship that could go up and down.[1] Having there refreshed them they are to go to Bantam; but this people will hardly suffer them to have fresh water, for that they have not the King of Achine's licence.

Thus trusting by God's good assistance to bring your business here to good effect, wherein in us shall be all diligence that may be, we humbly take our leaves etc.

Your Honours' humble servants
in all duty to be commanded,
John Sandcroft.
Edmond Aspinall.

Endorsed: Jo. Sandcroft and Ed. Aspinall from Tecoo, the 13 of November, 1615. Entered.

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Richard Cocks to William Eaton, etc.[2]

Firando in Japon, the 12th October 1615.

I WAS sending away a barque express with these letters the 10th current, but the King sent me word he would have me stay till he had writ once more to Gonrock Dono[3] to Langasaque (Nangasaki), knowing that at his instance this time he would set them at liberty; so I was constrained to give over my pretence. Yet I do now verily think it is nothing but to prolong time till Captain Adames come

from Court, knowing then we shall get no one to make the matter known to the Emperor. I do surmise that Gonrok Dono is more friend to the Portingales than us; yet he seemeth per his writing no. The King's man went away yesterday for Langasaque, and God knoweth when he will return; so I have thought good to send away these letters, to the intent Captain Adames may give the Emperor to understand thereof before he come back. And if he be come from the Court, yet I wish him to return back, for it stands us upon vow to get these two men set at liberty, and then the Spaniards and Portingales will take heed how they receive any fugitives which go from us hereafter.[1]

And for the pack No. 116, it is not here to be found, neither the five small cakes of wax, nor the five bamboo paintings.[2] So that if you have them not there, the barque men have stolen them while in the road here at an anchor three or four days (as you know) before your departure from hence. Herewithal goeth a note of all the packs how they were disposed of; take a copy thereof and send it with this letter (after copy taken) to Captain Adames or Mr. Wickham in Edo or Shrongo. Gonrock Dono sent me word to keep all our wax, tin and lead for the Emperor; otherwise I might have sold all or most part thereof before now. I have sold 150 pieces of dutties with some small quantity of chint Amad [avad] and Tapis Surasses, at a tay[3] per piece each sort.

Our junk is launched into the sea at Cochi[4] yesterday, and the Dutch junk will be launched this spring tide. Both the carpenters of the Osiander are dead, which is a great cross unto our proceedings.

I pray you once more remember to send me the true note of all goods and debts of old account and the quality of the commodities, for we must rate them as they are worth ready money. Set every sort per itself and rate them as you think them worth ready money, both that which is sound as also rotten or moth-eaten. Send me this note per very first of all things at Osekay, Miaco, Edo, Shrongo or elsewhere; and note down all debts you esteem desperate. And at sight hereof send away an express to travel night and day to Captain Adames; but let him be a diligent fellow that will go through-stitch;[5] for I should be sorry that

Captain Adames should come away before he inform the Emperor of these matters, and bring order to set these men at liberty.

And so in haste I end, resting

Your loving friend,

Ric. Cocks.

We are quite out of money, and occasion to use much daily.

You are to pay the bringer 5 mas port;[1] he hath promised me to make haste.

Addressed: To his loving friend Mr. William Eaton, to send to Capt. Adames and Mr. Richard Wickham at Edo, after copy taken.

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Richard Cocks to Richard Wickham.

Firando in Japan, the 14th October 1615.

MR. WICKHAM, I have written so at large in my other two general letters to you and Captain Adames about the procuring of liberty to set Damian and John de Lievana at liberty that I know not what else to write now. Only if you cannot get these two men set at liberty (which I see no reason to the contrary but you may), yet at least procure to have security that the Spaniards and Portingales may deliver us sufficient occasion (or sureties) to bring us back our seven men they conveyed away to the Manillas.[2] Stand upon this at any hand, for I see no reason but they should set these free men at liberty and also return our bondmen or them that were in pay. Put enough to, for you may take away when you will, and it stands us upon to stand out against the Spaniards in this action. You may lawfully say that the King of Spain usurpeth Portingall by force and keepeth the rightful heirs out, as he doth the like in other parts of the world and would do the like in Japon if he could, and the padres are fit instruments to stir people to rebellion. Harp upon this string, but be sure to

take heed they secretly do you no mischief. We want some canequin; many of these were sent for Edo and Shrongo, as appeareth per your own account. Look out the error and send me a note of all things remaining there of the old account, pricing each thing as it is worth ready money; and note down dispersed debts. Make an end with our hosts at Edo, Shrongo, and with Andrea, before Captain Adames come away. For other matters I refer me to my former. Resting always

Your loving friend,

Ric. Cocks.

Addressed: To his loving friend Mr. William Eaton, English merchant, to be conveyed to Mr. Richard Wickham, after copy kept for himself; dd. in Osekay or Miaco, to send to Edo or Shrongo.

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William Keeling to Sir Thomas Roe.

RIGHT Honourable, I received even now your letter of yesterday, expecting better news from the Governor than I therein found.

I shall be vigilant in the business of Mr. Boughton,[1] and ruled by you in the matter of his servant.[2] I never heard of the bargain of diamonds. To your purpose of haste up God give good success. The globe, etc.,[3] are ready, if I knew how to convey them you. I have three pieces for you, and more pistols are to be had if you please; but I know not how to convey them to you, lest the Governor finger them.

It hath[4] been dishonour to the Company to have let you pay custom for that is due to you. So soon as the merchants come to me I will procure some lines of our grievances, etc., or else send them after your Lordship is gone, to overtake you.

We cannot yet resolve who shall attend your Lordship, fearing that the Governor will not let our goods pass up yet. Howsoever, such of our people as your Lordship shall wish to attend you up shall have order thereto.

I am glad to hear so good a report of our factors there resident, and sorry for the indiscretion of the new-come-ones, whereof if I can have particular knowledge I will endeavour redress. If a loose bit of paper written by any man containing the particular disorders and persons had come enclosed in yours, I could have thrown that overboard and amended the disorder by the nearest way.

The factors write me that your Lordship purposeth to satisfy me by a receipt for the moneys delivered you;[1] which if you please to send in the form formerly desired by me, that business is ended.

And so, with very much respect to your Lordship, I take my leave, and rest

At your Lordship's service,

W. Keelinge.

Dragon, the 17th October 1615, about noon.

Addressed: To the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Roe, Knight, Lord Ambassador from His Majesty of England our Sovereign unto the Great Mogoll, these in Zurratt.

Endorsed (by Roe's Secretary): October the 17th, 1615.

303

To the Governor of Suratt.[2] Sent in the Persian tongue.

THE injuries you have offered me, contrary to the faith given by your King, to all civility and law of nations, being a free Ambassador, and contrary to your own honour and promise, forceth me to send you word I am resolved not to endure it. I come hither not to beg, nor do nor suffer injury. I serve a King that is able to revenge whatsoever is dared to be done against his subjects. I am come under assurance of the Great Mogul's firma and letters sent unto the King of England my master,[3] promising all love and friendship to

him; and therefore I am confident that no man dare presume to wrong me. Under which confidence I let you know that, without seeking farther friendship from you, that have ransacked my chests, taken by violence the presents sent your King, cruelly whipped a servant of the merchants for doing his duty, abused with contempt all the English (notwithstanding they have both sought in good sort your favour and have sundry times presented you), and to leave all in your hands to go with speed and desire justice against you, that you may appear to answer before your King to my face for these wrongs, when I doubt not (so great fame I hear of the royal disposition of His Majesty) to have honourable and speedy redress. I am sorry for nothing but that ever I vouchsafed to send you any remembrance of me, of whom in love you might have received anything, but by this course, of me, nor my nation, I am resolved you shall never get one pice; assuring you I am better resolved to die upon an enemy than to flatter him, and for such I give you notice to take me until your master hath done me justice.

Tho. Roe.

October 19th [1615].

To the Viceroy of Goa, sent by a messenger express, in Portuguese and English.[1]

Most illustrious Lord,

The injuries Your Excellence or your predecessors have offered to the subjects of the high and mighty prince the King of England, my royal master, by assaulting them in their peaceable course of trade, contrary to the amity and league of both our Sovereigns, although by the assistance of God you have received shame and confusion in your unchristian attempts, yet I have commandment to admonish you, like the subject of a prince at peace with my master, to desist from undertaking that which can bring forth no other effect but war and revenge and shedding of Christian blood. And because it cannot be supposed you have done thus unworthily without having mistaken the intent of our coming into these parts, I have command from His Majesty to signify to you, as His Majesty's Ambassador resident at Madrill[2] hath done there, that the

English intend nothing but free trade, open by the laws of nations to all men, whereof in these territories of the Mogull and other neighbouring Princes there is enough for both, if avarice do not blind all reason in Your Excellence. It is not the purpose of the English to root out or hinder your trade but to continue their own in friendship; and they will be ready as Christians to do you any courtesy or assist Your Excellence or nation in any want. Neither do they desire if Your Excellence have any custom, revenue or gabell[1] from the merchants subject to the Mogull trading at sea to take it from you, or otherwise impeach your receipt thereof. That it is strange that, the two mighty Princes our masters and their subjects being friends and in free commerce one with another, Your Excellence should dare to infringe it. Wishing Your Excellence to remember what the wrongs offered by your nation did cost you, how many millions both of men and crowns in the days of the blessed and famous Queen Elizabeth, the same force and spirit still living in our nation. Advising you to give more reverent terms of the Majesty of a Christian King than your barbarous miscellaneous people have used in these parts. To which purposes having now in friendly manner admonished Your Excellence, as befits the honour of a Prince tender of his royal word, I am to give you further notice that His Majesty is resolved to maintain his subjects in their honest endeavours in spite of any enemy, and to that purpose has sent me, being a gentleman of his privy chamber and a soldier, his ambassador to the Great Mogull, with full power and authority to conclude a league and friendship between their Majesties and their subjects for ever, binding himself by his royal word to maintain and fulfil whatsoever I his ambassador shall conclude with the Great Mogull to the security of their subjects; into which league I have command to offer Your Excellence comprisure, letting you know I am ready to go for Asumere, where I will attend your answer forty days, and in case of refusal or silence (which I will understand a refusal), I will proceed to such conclusions as I shall in my judgment think conducible to the ends for which I am employed; assuring Your Excellence, if you continue in this course, the King's Majesty will not only give protection in the way of defence, but grant his letters of prisal

free to all his subjects to make war upon you in all parts of the Indies, a thing infinitely desired and daily sued for to his Majesty; where you shall not be able to look out of your ports, much less to attempt to injure us. But, hoping you will have more consideration, I require your answer within the time prefixed, and so I commit you to God's protection.

Your friend or enemy at your own choice,

Tho. Roe.

Suratt, October 20, 1615, stil. vet.

Endorsed : To the Governor of Suratt, October 19, 1615. To the Viceroy of Goa, October 20, 1615.

304[1]

[The Merchants at Jambi to the Agent at Bantam ?].

Laus Deo in Jambe, the 22nd October 1615.

WORSHIPFUL Sir, Our loves in all dutiful affections remembered, etc. May it please you to understand that the 27th September we arrived at the mouth of the river of Jambe, having the day before spoken with two or three Java junks about seven leagues from the river, from whom we got a pilot who directed us to the place, whereof we were altogether ignorant. In our passage from Bantam to Jambe river there was nothing happened memorable, but that upon the 23rd[2] day of September about forty leagues short of Jambe, we steering away in the ship in seven or eight fathom water about four leagues short of the island of Lusapara, we continued the lead sounding and had once ten fathoms water, and before we could heave the lead twice more the ship was aground in ten foot water; which put us to some trouble, but got her safe off again within one hour, God be blessed for it, who hath safely conducted us hitherto and who we hope will continue His mercies towards us until the end.

We departed from the ship with our pinnace the 29th ditto and entered the river's mouth, leaving her riding at an anchor a league from the shore in three fathom water. At the mouth of this river and upon the bar we found one fathom and a quarter or one fathom and three-quarters at the deepest, whereby we saw that it was impossible to get in our ship here; but when we were once within the river we found very deep water all the way up, enough for any ship whatsoever. We carried with us up the river in the pinnace near upon the one half of our goods, and got with the help of the tides almost the half way up; but then, the westerly monnsons being come in, by reasons of abundance of rains caused the current to set strongly against us, running down continually with such violence that neither by help of sails nor oars we could get any farther up. Therefore we thought it most expedient to send up the pinnace her boat to the town to procure more help to get up the pinnace; wherefore the 7th of this present we sent up Robert Johnson, the purser of the Attendant, and John Smith, our Jurybassa, to the town with a small present to the King, giving him notice of our coming. They arrived there the 9th ditto and were entertained with much show of love and friendship, both of the King and country people. At the town they hired a boat and fourteen Chinamen with a warp of rattons of five or six hundred fathom to tow us up, and came to us again the 12th ditto. The day before we had received a letter from the master of the ship, who wrote unto us that he had been sounding all about the river's mouth and certified unto us that there was neither any means possible to get in the ship nor safety for him to ride in the open sea road, having no shelter to secure his ship from the fury of the westerly monnsoons, he being to ride in the very heat and heart thereof before such time as we could find means to lade him. Therefore we were in doubt whether it were best to send him back for Bantam or not, but this we deferred till such time as it pleased God to send us to Jambe, to see how our business would go there. In the interim we heard by the bearer hereof, Cornelius Prince, a Dutchman,[1] who had been aboard him at the river's mouth, that he had found out the great river by which the Portugals and many great junks came up to the town.

[The merchants at Jambi] to Richard Hounsell.[1]

Laus Deo in Jambe, this 22nd October 1615.

Loving Friend Mr. Hownsell, We heartily commend us unto you, etc. You are to understand that since our departure from you we have been very much troubled about the getting up of the ship-pinnace for lack of men and warps, that when we had got her half the way to Jambe we are [were?] fain to send our boat to Jambe with a present to the King that we might procure us men and warp to get us up. So they being five days from us brought us down fourteen Chinamen, we being to pay each man 12*d*. a day and their meat and drink, which hath amounted to no little charges, being ten days with us, besides our present which we gave the King, which would have been saved if we had been able to have gotten her up, but now must give him another; and besides this the boat and warp which we had, all which hath left us bare of moneys, which if we had had men of our own all would have been saved. But, seeing it is fallen out as it is, we must be content, hoping that when she comes up again you will furnish her better than this time she was, which by the pinnace at her coming down shall certify you more hereof.

We have received two letters from you since our departure, the which we would have answered, but not finding conveyance could not. By them we understood of your arrival at the mouth of the river of Quallennar,[2] and that you would have us to consider whether it were fitting to bring her into the river, for seeing here are so many Portugals' frigates and for fear of their forces from Mallacca and their stratagems which they may work by fire against you, all which we have considered of as followeth, viz: For the Portugals bringing down from hence some fireworks to hurt you in the river, they are all gone for Mallaca, so here are but one pinnace and a very small junk, which you need not fear of their strength. Their love here towards us hath been very much, I mean their speeches to the country people of us, as we have heard, but the Flemings and they are deadly enemies. At our men's first going up they offered our men many kindnesses. For their forces from Mallaca, we have understood, not only from them but

by others, that they have no forces at Mallaca, for all that they are able to make in all places are gone for the Malluccoes to fight with the Hollanders. All which we have well considered of and have thought it fitting you should come into the river as far as the tides will give you leave, if possible you can.

For our business here, we came but at noon and to-morrow we purpose to go to the King, and then by the next shall hear more at large. Our coming is welcome and great store of pepper is to be had.

So in haste for the present we rest, with commendations to Mr. Callis and all the rest of our friends there. We commit you and all them to the protection of the Almighty God.

[Richard Westby] to Richard Hounsell.[1]

In the road of Jambe, this 24th October 1615.

Loving Friend Mr. Hounsell, My love remembered unto you and all the rest of our good friends there with you, not doubting, by the help of God, but that yourself and all the rest of your Company are in good health, the which I beseech God long to continue, etc.

I know that you cannot choose but think it long since you heard from us by writing, the which we could no ways help, being much troubled in getting up, as also not having convenient means to send it down to you. By the 7th of this month we got up our pinnace better than half the way in length with the help of the winds, tides and the warping of the rest of our merchants, only myself, which was most part of the way sick, but for Mr. Tucker and Mr. Vernon, Mr. Johnson and John Smyth, their hands and their shoulders will bear witness of the pains they took in getting up so far; but that present day they being not able to do any more and the currents increasing every day more and more upon us we were fain to take a more speedy course, though very chargeable. We agreed to send Mr. Johnson and John Smyth, Roger, Sabathiell, and Sido in our boat to Jambe with a present to the King and to get either two prows well manned to tow us up or to get Chinesas to help to warp us up, and to make all the speed that may be for their return, we not able to do any [thing ?]

without a very stiff gale of [wind ?] till their return. The 8th dicto the Portingall frigate passed by us. We hailed them and would have had two of them to come aboard, but we riding under one shore and they rowing close aboard the other, we could not speak with them. The 11th day in the morning, about three of the clock, our boat came aboard and left Mr. Johnson and John Smith behind, because they could not despatch their business in time; but the 13th at noon they came aboard with fourteen Chinesas and brought a rattan warp of 400 fathom long and a China boat to lay it out, agreeing to give them a quarter[1] a man per day and find them victuals, which brought us to that pass, that had we not bought both rice and dry fish, hens and other things, we had been in a bad case. The current runs very strong about ten leagues short of the town, which put us to great trouble and broke our warp, but, God be thanked, by little and little, though with much trouble, we got up to this town of Jambe upon the 21st of this present. The next day, being Sunday, we went to the King with our present, who hath given us leave to trade and to hire a house, but not as yet to build a house, for some of our backbiting enemies had reported evil of us and our nation, but I hope our future carriage shall make them ashamed of their unjust slander. After noon we went to the young king and presented him, as before we had done unto his father. But here we find small encouragement for quiet and secure trade, for we are generally informed of all men and by the King himself that his people were naught and much given to thieving; therefore he dissuaded us from settling our factory. Moreover the water here doth so overflow the country that we cannot find a house wherein we may keep our goods dry; yet the best that we could find we have bought, which with as much speed as may be we will repair as well as we can, although not so well as to secure our goods, by reason of the rains and water, as we would. So that we must be enforced to keep our pinnace here with us till such time as we can build our house for the safe custody of our goods from fire and thieves. And as for the doubt which in your letter you made concerning your coming into the river, we do think it necessary, if you mean to lade before you go for Bantam, that you come into the river so high as you can with the tides, and so soon as we can

get any quantity of pepper we will send it down unto you. Here is already good store of pepper to be had but our chiefest market we expect will be when the Malonncabas[1] come down, which will be about a month hence. For those goods which remain aboard, I pray you let them remain till the rains are past and that we make sale of those we have here. I pray you get up into the river as soon and as far as you can and send us up word per the first conveyance how high and where you ride, that when we have occasion to send down we may bargain with the prows accordingly. I must entreat you to spare us some small quantity of your ship's provision, but as sparing as you can, not doubting but you will show your love in each particular. A note of the particulars you shall receive by Mr. Johnson; the quantity I leave to your discretions, considering that you know not how long you shall ride before we shall be able to provide lading.

Thus not doubting, as we have hitherto found you, but that you will be careful of the Company's good and your own credit, we commit you to the protection of the Almighty, whom I beseech to send us all good success in all our affairs. We rest

Your loving friends.

Postscript.—Here is a Portingall frigate is to come very shortly. If the Fleming chance to be dealing with him I pray you have no hand in it anywise, for we cannot answer to do them the least injury. As for the small boat which you wrote for last, we cannot possibly spare [it?], but if this prow which we now send will do you service for a day, I pray make [use] of her.

[Richard Westby] to Richard Hounsell.

In Jambe, the 31st October 1615.

Mr. Hounsell, my love remembered etc. I am sorry that I have occasion to write to you at present, but necessity drives us to it, being troubled with a disordered fellow in that fashion that I fear we shall hardly recover the shame and discredit he hath done to the Worshipful Company and to our nation while we are here, fearing it will be a great hindrance to our present business and a greater to our

settling a factory here. For this present night Robert Burges, having been all this afternoon forth of the ship, at nine of the clock came aboard very drunk, having abused himself in running after the Javas women, and fighting and wrangling with the Chinas, the which the King gave us warning at our first coming to him ; and at his coming aboard abused us all and fell together by the ears and made an uproar in the ship that all the town wondered at us, which for to avoid hereafter we do as we have done. In his place Mathew will serve. I pray you supply our wants with some other men and we will make a shift. At your coming up you shall hear at large of his mad pranks. For this we have done we will answer. I pray you be careful of him hereafter if he be drunk ; he is a devil and swore that if he could he would blow up the ship, the which I think he would have done in that humour, had it lain in his power.

Thus, being assured that you know best what you have to do, I rest.

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William Eaton to Richard Wickham.

Meaco (Miako) in Japon, the 23rd of October 1615.

MOST loving and kind friend Mr. Wickham, I commend me unto you, etc. You shall understand that Captain Coppendall[1] and the rest returned hither late the last night and some hour after I received a packet of letters from Captain Cocks, dated in Firando the one 24th of September, the others 10th and 12th of October,[2] by a messenger sent a purpose with them, in which packet there were two jointly for Captain Adames, you and myself, but especially they concerned Captain Adames, to speak with the Emperor about Damian and John which are still kept prisoners aboard the Amacau (Macao) ship, Captain Cocks having used all means possible to get them

released and cannot, so as he desireth the Emperor may know thereof, as you may perceive by his said two letters, which I have sent to Captain Adams, whom I make account will either send them or deliver them unto you after he hath perused them; the copies of which letters I have here taken and sent the principals by Stremendon alias John Phebe, to the intent that he may meet with Captain Adams, either at Sorongo or by the way coming. We thought him the most fittest man to go with these said letters, for that he is acquainted where Captain Adames used to lodge by the way, that so he may the better meet with him, etc.

Your letter per Captain Coppendall I have received and the two pieces of Conony (?) harer, for which I thank you. I will accomplish your letter, God willing. Since your departure I have opened all the rest of the packs and find wanting ten pieces of footas chadder borell of 4¾ rials in pack No. 118, and four pieces of tapes single of 30 mamudis in pack No. 109, and one piece of baftas of 11 rials in pack No. 120, and two pieces of duttie of 45 mamudis per corge in pack No. 112. Also we are charged with 49 pieces of chadder pintathos of 9 rials, and I find but 29 pieces, which were: in pack No. 115 ten pieces, in pack No. 116 ten pieces, in pack No. 120 five pieces, and in chest No. 4 four pieces, and not a piece more; so as I know not what is become of the rest, unless they are in some of the chests which you had up with you, etc. In the packing bill there is no more but 29 pieces, and in the invoice they have put down 49 pieces, which makes me to wonder. I have advised Captain Cocks thereof and the rest of the things that I find wanting, etc. It should seem that the 5 bambows[1] of painting and the 5 small pieces of wax is lost in the barque; but for the pack No. 110[2] [it ?] was opened at Firando and never put aboard the barque. This it is to have things done and shuffled away in the haste that men do not know what they do. I have here a parcel of commodities lying by me; I never saw worse, for that most part of the baftas are all stained and many of them rotten, which will never yield anything. I will show them to Captain Coppendall, to the intent he may certify Captain Jurden thereof. Also I have here great store of barbers' aprons; so as I pray you, if there are any in those parts which want aprons, I can here furnish them. I have not sold a piece of

anything as yet, and have but small hope to do. So as at your coming here I will deliver all things to you, and with the first will get me to Firando; for I will ensure you that I am fitted with a parcel of commodities that [makes me ?] weary of Meaco, etc.

Captain Cocks hath written me to send him a note of what debts are remaining here in Meaco, Sacky, Ossakay, Sorongo and Edo or elsewhere, and to write down all such debts that I esteem desperate; as also he desires you to write him word how you think you shall make an end with Migmoy, Andrea, and Stibbio,[1] and what rate we are like to receive the gold at, whether at 6 [taels ?] the bar, as I received them for, or at 75 mas the bar, as they took them for (as they say); as also, if there be any desperate debt made; which things he desireth you to write [him] of by all speed that may be, to the intent he may make an end of his accounts to send along in the ship both for England and Bantam. So and that for present being in great haste, having not time to copy even this my letter, I end, committing you and your affairs unto the protection of the Almighty God, and resting

Your loving friend to command,

Wm. Eaton.

Addressed: To his loving friend Mr. Richard Wickham, English merchant, this dd. in Edo, Sorongo, or elsewhere, per John Phebe.

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Captain William Keeling to Sir Thomas Roe.

RIGHT Honourable, I received even now your letter, wishing the new firma[2] may be of such import as may admit to the Governor of no delay in your Lordship's business nor no unkind usage to us hereafter.

The factors there make no doubt to me of being ready to set on before your Lordship can, but if it should happen otherwise, then your stay a day or two will be behoveful to the Company's business.

Concerning Mutton,[1] if your Lordship find his stay here unnecessary and will with his master's assistance send him me perforce, I doubt not to make good use of him to the Company's service; otherwise refer it to your wisdom.

Concerning Madafalabar,[2] I join in opinion that it were a place very fit for us if the passage from thence to Amadavaz may, at the Mogoll's charge, be reasonably secured in respect of thieves; but how far the Company will be at charge for the refortifying and defending it I am utterly ignorant, not knowing what to advise in that point, but leave it to your mature deliberation, the Company only having given me order to enquire how fit their shipping may ride in that river to be the more safe from the Portingalls, freer from the injury of the worm, and for their safe wintering in case of necessity.

And so, with all due respects, I take my leave, and rest

At your Lordship's service,

W. Keelinge.

Swallee ashore,
this 27th October 1615, at 6 morning.

Addressed: To the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Roe, Knight, Lord Ambassador from His Majesty of England our Sovereign unto the Great Mogoll, these in Zuratt.

Endorsed: October the 27th, 1615.

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William Adams to Richard Wickham.

Laus Dei in Sourangawa (Surunga), the 29th October 1615.

LOVING and my very good Friend Mr. Wickcam, Being here in Sourranga arrived, on or before my coming I found John Febee returned from Meaco with divers letters from Ferando and Meaco, etc.;[3] among which letters three came to send to you, the which letters (having no good means) I thought good to send one expressly unto you with them. Your friendly letter to me with the rest I have received

by my man Mangoich. For my [your?] letter to me I thank you, and for your others I will deliver them particular to them that you have directed them to. I have received a letter particular about the abuse which Captain Moor[1] hath offered to Damian Marin and John de Leviano, in keeping them in irons, with express order to make it known to the Emperor, the which with God's help shall be accomplished, etc. Your memory[2] I have received, which I will follow your directions without fail; therefore in that case take no care.

Concerning your recovering your debts in Eddo, if it be possible end it without going to law. For the Jappane merchants, seeing extremity used, will be afraid to deal with us; therefore for our further credit with them, if it be with some small loss, end with them. I write this but by the way, being in my judgment what will in the end be best, having no order from the Captain[3] always provided. These things concern you; therefore use your discretion therein what you think best that may further the Honourable and Worshipful Company in the end.

Your letter to Keedokia our host Stebio[4] I have delivered; but the five pieces of gold he hath as yet not paid me, but paying me I will give him a receipt under my hand.

Thus not having any further to write you of, for this present I cease, with my hearty commendations; leaving you to the protection of the Almighty, who of His mercy send us a joyful meeting. Amen.

Your friend, in what I can, to command,

William Addames.

Mr. Ettonn in Meaco hath sold some 400 taylls of goods. I would you could sell also, for our Captain hath need of money, etc. I have received the Secretary's letter to Saffe Donno[5] about the release of Damian and John de Levano.

Addressed: To his approved good friend Mr. Richard Wikcam, merchant and factor for the English Company in Eddoo, this deliver in Eddo in the street called Woodawrach Yokachro.[6]

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Richard Rowe[1] to the East India Company.

HONOURABLE and Right Worshipful Sir and Sirs, My humble duty remembered, with desire of your health and long life, etc. I hope long ere this you have received letters of our proceedings from the Cape and Bantame. May it please you to understand the 15th of March 1614 [1615] we set sail out of Bantam Road bound for Sumatra, the ports of Tecoe, Priaman and Cortatinga,[2] as Council had determined. Then after a long and cross passage by wind and current we arrived at Tecoe the 11th of May 1615, where our merchants going ashore were utterly denied trade without going for Acheene and getting the King's licence to trade. The 12th day sent our long boat with merchants to Priaman, six leagues distance from Tecoe, where they received the like answer for trading. They returned, and the 17th day we departed thence for Acheen, where, after a cross passage of shoals, contrary winds and currents, we arrived the 20th day of June. Here we found the Hector, who arrived two months and upwards since. By them we understood their success at Surratt, the despatch of the Hope for England, the Gift and Solomon for Bantam, with their proceedings at Acheen.

Here we stayed to the 17th of August, having settled a factory at Acheen, paying 7 per cent. custom, sold part of our goods and obtained a factory at Tecoe for two years. The King of Acheen gives it out he is bound for Mallaca, but I think he means not to come there, being too strong for him to deal with. He has of his fleet three hundred and odd sails of junks, galleys, frigates and prows, pretending to carry over the straits near a hundred thousand men.[3] He was departed for Pedear (Pedir) twenty days before our coming thence; but surely his suit for Mallaca will be cold, for but twenty days before our departure thence came in two Hollanders from the coast of Corramandell,[4] who ten days before were in fight with four sail of galleons bound for Mallaca, who put the Hollanders to the worst. Here the Hollanders left one of their ships, of burden six hundred tons, being so leaky and bad they could no longer keep her. Then after a long

passage with contrary winds, thanks be to God, the 27th of October we safely arrived at Tecoe, where we found the Hector, who arrived about twenty days since and had a passage of full three months, having beaten price for pepper but nothing concluded. Here we had several consultations for disposing of the ships, goods and merchants, and after some contrasting[1] it was determined, for the good of our honourable employers, the Thomas to stay on the trade of Sumatra, as Tecoe and Priaman, with her own and the Hector's merchants and merchandise fitting for these places, and the Hector with her money and goods fit for England presently to depart for Bantam. For a larger discourse of these proceedings I refer your Worships to the merchants' advice.

Here by the Hector we heard of two small ships out of England arrived in July last at Bantam and despatched for Japan and the east side of Sumatra;[2] with Captain Keelinge and his fleet for Surratt; also the departure of a fleet of Flemings from Priamane six days before our arrival here, who came out of Holland in May 1614, the time of our coming forth, Priaman being their first port, in the Indies and that for refreshing.[3]

There is good encouragement given for despatch of our ship hence with her lading twixt this and the 20th of January, which if it please God may be effected, I hope about the end of February the Thomas may be going for England from Bantam.

Sir, there was a great abuse in our bread and meal, most of it being naught; as also some of our beef and pork very bad. Our ship's lower orlop is bad, not well looked to at home. She retains still her former quality of a slug[4] and tender-sidedness; only she is tight and steers well and going from the wind is a commoner.

Thus, as I began, with prayer to God for your good healths and prosperity of our voyage and all other your honourable affairs, I humbly take leave and rest

Now and ever right ready to be commanded
to the utmost of my power,
Ric. Rowe.

Tecoe,
the 6th of November 1615.

Addressed: To the Honourable and Right Worshipful the Governor and Committees of Merchants trading the East Indies these be dd.

Per Mr. Spicke,[1] master of the Hector, whom God keep.

Endorsed: Rich. Rowe, from Tecoe, the 6th of November 1615. Read in Court, 27 June, 1616.

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Consultation of the Factors of the Solomon.[2]

9th November, 1615.

COMING from Patanie in the good ship the Solomon, bound for the coast of Coramandle, at the entrance of the first strait of Singa Poura, we found a Holland man-of-war riding at an anchor, called the Moon, having 36 pieces of great ordnance, being one of the fleet bound for Malaca, who coming from Bantam through the straits of Saboun,[3] met with the King of Achin's fleet (being 300 sail and 40,000 strong) which came to assist the Hollander at the siege of Malaca; but at their meeting, by misunderstanding one another, a mischance was like to have happened, for the Dutch gave them three pieces of ordnance in honour of the King; they not taking it well in warlike manner compassed the ship about and shot a murtherer against the ship and put them in great doubt and fear what the issue might come unto. At last they sent the Holland cape merchant that lay in Achin[4] (who was then with the King) aboard the ship, who by reason of his evil usage of the King would willingly have remained aboard but the Captain would not suffer him, the King requiring also the chief of the Dutch ship to come aboard him to confer about their proceedings. He, having no order thereunto, refused the same and so departed in displeasure. The next day after our arrival at the entrance of the said straits the King of Jor,[5] accompanied

with five or six prows, came aboard our ship, who flying from the King of Achin durst not remain in his own country but lived on the water like a fugitive. He certified us that the King of Achin was greatly displeased with the English because our ships which were at Achin this year refused to assist the King in his wars against Malaca, whereby we gather that the Hector and Thomas have been there. We understand also that General Best in the Dragon was like to have been betrayed by that treacherous and tyrannous King and departed without taking his leave of him, greatly discontented,[1] though at first he had been very courteously entertained. He certified also that there lay four galleons with other small ships, galleys and frigates of the Portingalls before Malaca, which considered, we with our ship being no way answerable in force to stand upon terms with the King of Achin nor yet to withstand the Portingalls' force, the one by advice no way to be trusted, and the other our mortal enemies; but yet reposing no great confidence on the King of Jor, knowing him to be a friend of the Portingalls, though constrained by necessity he dissembled with the Dutch, and knowing the nature of the King of Achin and giving credit to one of our master his mates that certified his carriage towards General Best, it caused us wholly to suspect him. Also having passed the second straits of Singa Poura we had conference with a prow that came from Mouar[2] (which is 8 leagues from Malaca) that reported for certain the Portingalls were abroad and had been three days and three nights continually in fight with the Achinder off the said land of Mouar, but what success they knew not, they, for fear, keeping close under the shore; only they saw great fires, and reported the Portingalls had six galleons, three galleys and store of frigates and bantins.[3] So that we remained very doubtful what course were best to be taken, considering the Portingalls' great strength, by whom of force we must pass, and the Achinder (for the reasons before alleged) as little to be trusted, and our own force not any way able to make resistance against the least of them. Whereupon a Court was called by Lucas Antheuniss, cape merchant of our ship, to advise what course were best to be taken concerning those three points, first in preserving the reputation of our nation not to retire back again,

showing ourselves fearful, and also to give no discouragement unto our men; secondly, not to be too much beholden to the Hollander to shelter ourselves under them, as though without their help we could not pass; and thirdly, not wilfully to run into so imminent a danger, desperately to hazard the Worshipful Company's ship and goods, and also our own lives, by proceeding presently for Malaca. All which inconveniences being duly considered, it was generally thought good and agreed upon that our ship should ride under Poulou Caramon[1] (being out of the way), there to take in fresh water and wood and remain there about twenty days more or less, in which time we doubt the Hollander would be before Malaca, having certain advice that they were already departed from Bantam, whom we must needs see, riding in a place where we may descry them as they pass, either by the straits of Singa Poura or Saboun, by which means we shall be secured from the Portingalls and Achinder also, and lose no great time, considering the monson is not yet settled. . .

Dated aboard our ship, riding at an anchor short of Poulo Caramon, the 9th of November 1615.

Lucas Antheuniss.
Adam Denton.
Raphe Preston.
Thos. Brockedon.
Humphry Elkington.
Timothy Mallory.

14th January 1615 [1616].

Whereas the Right Honourable Company in their trade here in East India do especially strive to obtain a sufficient quantity of good indigo, and being arrived with the good ship the Solomon here in the road of Masulpatam, where Mr. Pieter Floris in the Globe and also the Dutch have purchased up in the country reasonable quantities of the same and at very cheap rates: now having certain advice that only four months of the year they make their indigo and that there now resteth but two months time for getting that which is good, which being past there were no hope to obtain any but such as the Dutch shall refuse, who at this present do earnestly strive to get what possibly they can:

now the shortness of time urging all possible expedition, lest detraction of time should give the Hollanders means to engross all the best into their own hands, a council was called by Mr. Lucas Antheuniss, cape merchant, to advise what course were best to be taken concerning the said business, wherein, after due consideration had, it was thought good by the court in general that Adam Denton and Humphery Elkington should go up into the country with all speed that may be to manage the said business, and having once sufficiently informed themselves of all matters there concerning the said trade, then to be supplied with moneys as shall be thought convenient; and in the meantime to carry with them the sum of four or five hundred pagodes [1] to make therewith an entrance into the trade. The place also where the Dutch are resident being but two days journey up from Masulpatam in the country, speedy advice may be had of all occurrences that passeth, whereby we may sufficiently inform ourselves of the trade, as well by musters [2] as otherwise, and so take such good order for prosecuting the same that the Dutch may no way exceed nor circumvent our proceedings.

Dated in the factory of Masulpatam, this 14th of January 1615 [1616].

Lucas Antheuniss.
Adam Denton.
Raphe Preston.
Tho. Brockedon.
Humphery Elkington.
Timothy Mallory.

Endorsed: Resolutions for ship in Singa Poura and indigo trade in Masulpatam, anno 1615. Copy No. 5.

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Captain Arthur Spaight to the East India Company.

RIGHT Honourable, My humble duty remembered, most humbly entreating your kind censure of me for not writing formerly unto you, not having in my judgment matter worthy your honourable acceptance. These are therefore to let you understand that per our right worthy General, Mr. Nich. Downton, I was ordained commander of your ship Hector and sent for Achen, departing from him the 26th of March last in the latitude of 4 degrees and 40 minutes; and through the mighty protection of Almighty God the 15th of April I arrived in the road of Achen in safety, the which road standeth in 5 degrees 40 minutes and variation 6 degrees 25 minutes. In this road we only found a junk of Arocan, that came into this road some 25 days before our there arrival, laden with rice. The next day after our arrival I sent Mr. Sandcroft and Mr. Aspinall up the river to the town, where they had kind entertainment, and the 17th ditto Mr. John Oxweck, our chief merchant, went up to the town with our King's Majesty's letters and your present, the King being then 25 leagues from thence at a town called Pedeare, whither Mr. Oxweke took his journey, being accompanied with only Mr. Samuell Juxon, a linguist, and some two or three blacks. At his arrival at the foresaid town he was kindly entertained; and within a day or two he had access unto the King, who kindly received both the letters and present, vesting them both according to the custom he useth unto all nations. And about some fifteen days after they returned with the King to Achen, where Mr. Oxwek, according to commission from our General, he attended the Court affairs, and the other merchants their buying and selling. For me to write unto your Worships of the carriage of Mr. Oxweke there, it would give his friends little content and much rejoice his enemies, in respect whereof I hope your Worships will charitably censure of me. Only this, herewith you shall receive in writing the whole proceedings of and against him by virtue of a private commission I received from our General, as also your Worships shall therein see the just proceedings without partiality, I hope to your great

benefit; as also how I by the consent of that council and at the request of all in general, as well the opponent as the defendant, was ordained to take the Court business in hand, the 13th of June; Mr. Oxwek having procured the King's answer unto our King's Majesty's letters and had not done anything for the procuring the King's licence for our free trading at Priaman, Tecco, and the ports adjoining, the which I procured afterward, although then to your great charge, which could not otherwise be done by reason of the discontent that Mr. Oxweke had given unto the King and divers of his nobility. Mr. Oxwek being removed from his business, and being then troubled with the flux, within seven or eight days after departed this life in Achen and there interred. The 21st of June there arrived in this road of Achen the Thomas, one of your Worships' ships, sent from Bantam to trade on the west coast of Sumattra, who had been at Pryaman and Tecco and there could not be permitted any trade because she had not the King of Achen's licence; so that she being forced to come for Achen, there to procure it, and finding us there, having procured his licence for our free trading before their arrival, the chief merchant of the Thomas, Mr. John Millward, with Mr. Wm. Niccolles and Mr. John Yeattes his assistants, began to call in question which of the two ships were the fittest ship to work out her lading on the coast of Sumattra. Many reasons they alleged that the Thomas was the fittest. We on the contrary part alleged for the ship Hector. Thus after some few days spent pro et contra it was agreed that the Hector should proceed upon certain terms or conditions, the which were set down in writing with all our hands thereunto, the which writings on both sides with the conclusion thereof your Worships shall also herewith receive.[1] Thus having despatched all business at Achen, the 6th of July we set sail out of the road, having lost many men there, whose names your Worships shall herewith receive, to my great grief.

I writ this being departed from the foresaid road, where we left the Thomas, as also Mr. Juxon joined with Mr. Nickolles in a settled factory procured by the merchants of the Thomas, the which factory the King had freely offered unto Mr. Oxweke, as also unto me after him, by us both refused. But the fruits of

seeking that at the King's hands that before he had freely offered fell somewhat heavy; for whereas before we were free of custom and so passed we with all our business, now there must per the English nation seven per cent. in and out be paid.

Your Worships shall understand that we had a very hard passage between Achen and Tecco, being much crossed with S.E. winds and a westerly or N.W. current; so that it was the 5th of October before we could get Tecco. Where arriving, we set the Ponlema that we brought from Achen with us and seven blacks ashore, four merchants accompanying them; where we had not been past 22 days but in cometh the Thomas from Achen, who brought news of the death of Mr. Juxon that we left at Achen and of the death of Mr. John Yeattes in their ship by the way. They also brought with them the King of Achen's letters for the settling of a factory for two years, as they made us believe, and kept it close from us, not once letting neither me nor our merchants have the sight, although many promises were made that we should. So that we, not knowing the effect of their licence, yielded through their extreme allegations to depart from Tecco for Bantame; and having put our goods that were vendible at Tecco into the Thomas and had received both their letters and moneys and were fitted to depart, Mr. Sandcrofte the 4th of this month of November came aboard of me and brought the copy of their licence, the which he had procured, though with some charge; the which we found not to be beneficial to our nation, for that there was neither mention of more than one to stay with this factory, and he left at Achen, that famous is only in disturbing other men in their business, by name William Nickcolles. So that the Ponlema did not let to tell our merchants of the Hector that if in case they did send their ship hitheraway and refuse to take the benefit of the King's licence granted them, the which was of as great force as the Thomas, yea and greater, for that they in the Thomas were confined only to one place (to say Tecco) and we had three places (to say Barrous, Tecoo and Pryaman), affirming unto Mr. Sandcrofte that if he did not keep the Hector at Teco that neither he nor any of the merchants of the Hector should neither buy, nor sell nor land their goods nor stay in Ticoo after the departure of the Thomas: whereupon the

6th ditto meeting all ashore there was a new council, and there it was by the merchants of the ship Hector given in under their hands that they held it more beneficial that the Hector stay at Ticoo and that the Thomas go for Bantam; whereupon I wrote two or three lines in the same paper, and that through the good encourage[ment?] that I had from them, whereunto my hand is set, hoping that it will prove beneficial unto your Worships. And for the settling of the factory that Mr. John Millward brought with him, I make no doubt but we shall, after the business for the Hector here ended, settle it as well and rather better than if the Thomas had stayed here, and to your Worships' better profit. The Thomas her arrival here in this road hath hindered our business, for we being here some three weeks before her, in which time our merchants being resident ashore, the very day that she came into this road they were in conference with the great men of the town, had brought the price of pepper down from 50 rials of eight to 15, and their baftas and other goods at a very good rate; but the next day after the arrival of the foresaid ship they raised their pepper to 24 rials the baharr; and before we could agree and despatch her away they of the shore did demand 30 rials per baharr. So that till she be gone we shall do nothing, nor, I fear me, in a month's time after; although this town and Pryaman be very full of pepper and Passeman also, the which did much encourage our merchants to keep the Hector here and send the Thomas away.

Thus humbly craving pardon for these my harsh lines, I humbly take my leave, committing the success of our affairs unto the Almighty God, who preserve and keep you in health and send us a safe arrival into our native country to His honour and glory. Amen.

Your Worships' in all humble duty,

Arth. Spaight.

From aboard the ship Hector,
the 12th November 1615.

Addressed: To the Right Honourable and Right Worshipfu Governor and Committees of the East India Company this be dd.

Endorsed: Arthure Spight, from the Hector, April (*sic*), 1615. Read in Court, 27th June, 1616.

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John Sandcroft and Edmund Aspinall to the East India Company.

Laus Deo in Tecoo, the 13th of November, 1615.

RIGHT Honourable, This inclosed is the copia of our last of the 12th of October 1615,[1] sent unto your Honours by the way of Bantam by the General of three Holland ships, which was put into Priaman road, going thither; since which time we laboured in the best sort we could to have got a price of your goods set by the Polima and other governors, without whose allowance the country people dare neither buy nor sell with us; and having given many presents we have brought the business almost to end, having agreed with some of the chief and promising them further presents to effect the same. They promised us to cut the price of pepper at 15 rials of eight the bahare the first penny, and to cut the price of baftas at eight for a tale (which is about 12 rials of eight) paying custom and other duties here due.

This people being tedious and before all would consent thereto, the Thomas came into this road, viz. the 27th of October; which the people seeing went from their former promises and at the lowest rate demanded 24 rials of eight the bahare. Before the Thomas came to an anchor we two went aboard of her, acquainting Mr. Milward of the estate of this place and of our proceedings. Mr. Milward told us that he had brought from the King of Achine a free factory for two years for Priaman, Tecoo and other places for the English nation, which we were glad to hear of. Nevertheless we advised him to keep secret the said factory till the price of goods was fully agreed upon betwixt us and this people; also we told him we thought it fit but to keep one ship here and to put the goods out of that ship that was to go into the other and so make sale of all together, thinking that to be most beneficial for your Honours. Mr. Milward and Mr. Rooe alleged that the Thomas was most fitting to stay; Mr. Spaight and we alleged the Hector, but that night we could not agree, but promised to come aboard again in the morning, we having some small matters ashore and could not be absent from thence. The next morning accord-

ing to promise we went aboard, but Mr. Milward, seeing us come, took presently their skiff and rowed ashore; which we seeing wondered at it and made what haste we could to him and there again willed him to keep his factory secret, for that we feared it would do great harm in the sale and buying of goods. Nevertheless, as at Achin so here, he would follow no counsel, but made it known and had his licence publicly read in the custom-house. The day following we met all aboard the Hector to conclude which ship should stay and what was most beneficial to be done for your Honours. Many allegements made on both sides, yet at last agreed that every man should set down his opinion under their hands; which being after read and considered upon, Mr. Milward held in his opinion his of force and ours of no effect, as also finding fault with Mr. Spaight's opinion, alleging it to be partial; whereupon it was referred to the merchants of both the ships. But still Mr. Milward would yield to nothing but what he thought fitting, and said that if the Hector did stay here he would go settle his factory at Priaman and there buy and sell. We told him that then he would spoil the markets in both places, and that upon this coast to our knowledge there was not goods to lade both the ships; to which Mr. Milward answered he would do it, to which we replied that if the said John Milward would give it under his hand that if the Hector did stay in Tecoo that he would go in the Thomas to Priaman and there buy and sell, that then the Hector should be gone, in regard the stay of both ships would be the overthrow of the voyage, and we would deliver into the Thomas such goods as was vendible in this place (which we thought to be more fitting than to carry them to Bantam), promising the said Mr. Milward that we would aid and assist him in his factory and stay here to do what service we could for the good aforesaid. Upon his note given we prepared for the departure of the Hector, having taken out of her and sent unto the Thomas 29 bales of baftas, candikins, byrames and triconies, as also all our iron, hoping to have made sale thereof and to have provided goods of the proceed thereof ready for the next ships, relying upon the sufficiency of Mr. Millward's factory, which we trusted to be good of his word, having demanded sight thereof divers times but could not have it.

But it being noised abroad that the great ship was going for Bantam, the Polima sent to us to know what we meant to be gone, saying that the Hector's licence was as good as that which the Thomas had brought. We told him that we intended to stay, but the ship, having taken in goods out of the Thomas (and so ull), she was to go for England. The Polima replied that if the ship went away we might go too, for if the ship went away without any trade our licence was void and the other licence was but for one man to stay; at which words we greatly marvelled and began to fear that his licence was not so good as he told us it was, first for the Polima's words and again in that we had demanded sight of it so often of Mr. Milward and could not have it. Whereupon once again we demanded the sight of the licence, telling him what the Polima had said, but he told us that the Polima had the principal and he had no copia thereof. We considering that the Thomas had great store of goods, and that if the Hector's were put into her also, they would amount to a great sum of money, therefore not fitting to leave in this rude place such a capital after the departure of the ships, and that small lading was to be gotten but pepper, and that the Thomas could take in no such quantity as the Hector would, and finding the Polima as it were to cavil already, made means to the Corcone[1] or Scrivano to help us to the copia of the King's licence brought by Mr. Milward, which having the copy, it was to have trade in Tecoo only, paying the King his custom 7 per cent. in and 7 per cent. out, and after to leave one man for two years there, viz. Wm. Nicoles, who was left at Achine, and that the Hector's licence was to have free trade for Priaman, Tecoo and Baruse, paying the King likewise his custom 7 per cent., and no time limited but to take our time as we thought fitting for the lading of our ship and after for the sale of such goods as was remaining, having in the said licence Arthure Spaight and both our names, or who should bring the said letter. So that the Hector's licence was thought to be of more force than that of the Thomas; whereupon we showed Mr. Milward, Mr. Spaight and Mr. Rooe the copies of both licences, and desired their counsel and assistance therein. So upon good consideration it was holden fit that the Thomas should go and the Hector stay, which if Mr. Milward had showed his licence at first it had been

decided ten days sooner, and a great furtherance in the sale of goods and price of pepper, at least 20 per cent., which price now we cannot write of, for that till the one of the ships be gone we have no hope to buy under 24 rials of eight the bahare, but after we trust to have it better cheap, here being (by good report) four or five hundred tons. So that by general consent we have taken out of the Hector and put into the Thomas 133 churles of indigo and 29 bales of cotton yarn, also four thousand rials of eight, for that we having received letters from Bantam and perceiving their wants, have endeavoured ourselves to send what moneys we could, hoping to make sales of goods that will supply us here. Also Mr. Milward is determined to stay here to see the sales of the goods which was in the Thomas; and for those goods taken out of the Hector and put into the Thomas as abovesaid we have sent bills of lading to Mr. Thomas Elkington or his assigns to be disposed of as he shall think fitting.

Thus with the remembrance of our humble duties and prayers to the Almighty for the long continuance of your Honours' health and prosperous success in all your affairs, we humbly take our leave.

Your Honours' servants in all duty to be commanded,

John Sandcroft.
Edmond Aspinall.

Endorsed: John Sandcroft and Edmond Aspinall in Tecoo, the 13th of November 1615. Entered.

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John Millward to the East India Company.

Laus Deo. Teco, 13th November 1615.

RIGHT Worshipful, My duty in most (*sic*) manner remembered. Omitting all former business, whereof I am assured you are before this time exactly informed by the Globe and Samaritan, I thought it my duty to acquaint your Worships with the success of our voyage in your

Worships' ship the Thomas upon the coast of Sumatra. Upon the 15th of March 1614 [1615] we set sail from Bantan, having had as bad weather as storms, calms and contrary winds could make, so that it was the 12th of May following before we arrived at Teco, our first port, lying 30 minutes to the southward of the line; where at our first coming we presently made motion for trade to the principals of Teco and Priaman, but both our request and presents were rejected, a thing not usual among these people. Their colour was that the King of Achen had sent thither a great quantity of cloth (which he took from the Gussarats upon a slight occasion) and before the sale of that they durst admit trade to none; and to that effect showed us the King's letters, importing that no nation should have any trade without warrant from the King. This we were forced to take for an answer, they being so strict and as scant suffering us to buy refreshing for our men. The 17th of May (seeing no remedy, and considering that your Worships' goods were not to be returned, being old and very defective and vendible nowhere but on this coast) we set sail from Teco for Achen, in which passage we fell into a great danger, being seventeen days encumbered with the rocks, so that sometimes we had but three fathoms under the ship's keel and two yards from her sides but three foot. This disaster befell us just under the line and about twelve leagues from the shore. The 20th of June in Achen road, lying in 5 degrees to the northward, where we found one of your Worships' ships called the Hector. Presently on our coming the King sent his chape aboard, requiring to know our business and privileging us to come ashore. Without this chape or warrant it is unlawful for any to come ashore, or for any to come from ashore to any ship. At our first coming ashore we questioned with the merchants of the Hector what course was best for the disposing of both these ships to your Worships' most advantage. We found that by reason of some distaste given by them unto the King they had with long time and much charge procured trade at Teco and Priaman for eight months, provided that the King's goods were sold, and they to leave one merchant at Achen with a cargazon of goods, as a pledge for the true performance of these conditions. We, considering that the time

was short, the exception dangerous (in regard of the cavilling disposition of the people) the leaving of a pledge dishonourable to our nation, and, being but one man, dangerous for your Worships' goods whether he lived or died, and besides that the Thomas was well manned, having lost but one sithence her coming from Bantan, whereas the Hector was but weak, having lost twenty-six at Achen and eight more dangerously sick, and therefore unfit for a long voyage as this was like to prove; further that the goods in the Hector would be fit to do your Worships service in another voyage, being newly come from Surratt, whereas those in the Thomas must be either now put away or never; upon these I moved the merchants of the Hector to desist and leave the business unto the Thomas, for that the Hector, being of great burden, had no possibility to procure all her lading on this coast, though she endangered both ship and men for the accomplishment thereof, and going presently for Bantan might presently receive in pepper, and so bound for England might arrive there in a secure and convenient time both for your Worships and the ship; and the rather for that we were put in hope by the great Orenkays for a piece of money to procure a continued factory at Teco and Priaman. But what they had they would hold and make the best of it. In conclusion we resolved on this course, that the Thomas should make trial what might be done by means of the King of England's letter and a present; if we prevailed for the settling of a factory, then the Hector to give place and leave the business to the Thomas; if not, the Thomas to put the goods aboard the Hector and so return for Bantan; and farther that we should treat with the King that our pledge might be turned into a factory. Having in this manner determined of business among ourselves, upon the 28th of June we went to the Court with our King's letters, and for a present we carried one piece of ordnance,[1] two barrels of powder, twelve fowling-pieces, ten sword-blades and six fine baftas; these things were conveyed in great state, the letter on an elephant with three canopies over it and before us about half a score trumpeters. We found the King sitting with the King of Jore in a place built of purpose for the receipt of strangers. He used us very kindly and drank much rack, which we must

pledge. He desired of me such a suit of clothes as I then wore, which I presented him with the next time I went, being of red velvet, which some two days after I saw him have on;[1] so that if your Worships would please by the next to present him with such a one, I think it would be very acceptable. The upper garment must be loose after the sea fashion.

At my next being with him we entreated him for a factory at Achen, which he granted upon condition to pay seven in hundred custom, as other nations did, and not else; which for saving of time we yielded unto, knowing that the next ship arriving there might dissolve it if they found it not profitable. We likewise spoke for a factory at Teco and Priaman, which he at first utterly refused, saying that it would be the undoing of his own subjects, who indeed, receiving no means from him (I mean his chief officers), relieve themselves by bribing and trading unto those parts of Teco and Priaman; and it is no great matter what they send, for it must sell at their own prices, they having gotten an order that once every year the principals of these places are called to a reckoning at Achen before the King; if they be faulty it costs them their legs, arms or lives, the law being in the King's breast; if no occasion can be found then by means of some concurrents it cost them their whole estates to continue in their place, as some of them reported, being forced to return home with never a penny in their purse. In conclusion, by the mediation of Orenkay Laxaman (who is in nature of High Treasurer) we obtained a factory in those parts for two years, conditionally to give the King a great gun, a barrel of powder, and a cable and anchor, and to the said Laxaman and other officers 120 tale of gold, which both they and the King demanded as a duty, saying that the Hector had given great presents for less benefit. These conditions we were forced to accept of, the King being the next day to go for Malaca, whither we should be forced to follow him if we did not despatch now, and that voyage might well have cost us three months time; for, the King being gone, neither stranger nor subject is permitted to depart without his licence, neither can, seeing we lie under the command of his castle, which is well fortified. During our abode at Achen I sold some quantity of goods to the Gussarats at reasonable prices,

considering their condition and how they were valued. They would have bought all the goods in the ship but they had no rials. The country gold, being base, is not valuable in any place but there, and for commodities there is none to make any profitable return of, all things being there very dear; pepper some store there was, but the people durst make no price, the King's being unsold, which he held at 8 tale the baharr, that is 25 rials $\frac{3}{5}$; but I think, if your Worships please to give 20 rials per bahaar, you may lade from thence some quantity every year, and in my opinion (under correction) you were better to give 20 there than 15 at Teco or Priaman, for, first, the goods sell there better by at least thirty in the hundred, and what is to be had is suddenly gotten, whereas at the other places the merchants are but pedlars.

Sithence your Worships' happy victories against the Portingalls at Surratt (which God continue) the Gussarats dare not bring any cloth upon this coast, being waylaid by the Portingalls, and so long as it shall please God to give you so happy success, the sale of goods on this coast is your own; for the Gussarats (who bought all that was sold) gave unto me 6*s.* for what heretofore they sold themselves for 3*s.* in the country, and had our goods been rated at no higher value than they cost, I should have thought to have made a reasonable voyage by this time; but the abuses of your Generals and Captains in this point hath been most intolerable, who, having power to establish principal factors at Bantan, have by that means for the advancement of their own voyage rated their goods at what prices they thought good themselves, whereby your Worships receive much detriment and those who are employed in your service much discredit; and though your Honourable Company is contracted, yet I do not find this error amended, for I protest before God that those goods under my charge, being old and much defective (indeed half rotten), being valued at [*torn*] corge, did nothing near equal those of the Hector's of 49 momodes per corge, and yet I presume they had received a second value.

The Gussaratts at Achen live very slavish to the King, and yet many of them of great wealth and credit; for in the time of our being there the King caused one of their junks of 500 tons

burden with the commanders thereof to attend him in his voyage to Malaca, whither he went against the Portingalls with 300 sail of galleys and a hundred thousand men. Twelve of these galleys were very great, having 28 and 30 oars of a side and all things fitted very orderly by a Portingall, whom (when they were finished) he cast before an elephant and brake his bones. The Admiral galley had a turret built in the stern covered with plates of massive gold. These Gussarats were great enemies unto us in our business and especially for our settling at Achen, a place which heretofore hath been very profitable unto them, which now they are like utterly to be deprived of.

The 30th of July there came into the road of Achen two Dutch ships, the White Lion, wherein was the Visador,[1] and the Ragusa, wherein Captain Drinckewatter (best known by that name) was commander. The King would not allow them to come ashore, not so much as to fill water, in eight days after their coming. He demanded to have one of their ships with him to Malaca by virtue of a promise made unto him by the States,[2] which they excusing, he said they were an unjust nation and that he permitted them in his country custom-free only upon condition they should serve him upon occasion. They demanded to have one Riser,[3] captain of the Dutch at Achen, pretending that he was indebted unto the Company; but the King carried him to Malaca in despite of them, and indeed holds him as his slave. To pacify the King they presented him with a piece of ordnance and other things, which he rejected and sent back again. The White Lion, a ship of 500 tons, they turned ashore and gave her the King, being indeed something defective, yet it was thought she might have been made fit for Bantan, whither they were bound, but that they endeavoured to give the King some content. The Visador said to me that he would dissolve the factory; but he meant it not, for at his going away he left both merchants and goods there.

The 6th of July the Hector set sail from Achen for Teco, leaving behind them Samill Juxson for merchant, together with Wm. Nichols out of the Thomas, with a cargazon of 1243 rials of eight in white baftas out of the Hector, the greatest part whereof was very fine; which Samiell Juxson departed this life

the 9th of August following, having been sick of a flux fourteen days. The 17th of August the Thomas set sail for Teco, having (God be thanked) not lost one man. We left at Achen for merchants the said Wm. Nichols and Abraham Bond our purser, and with them 1000 rials in coarse blue cloth out of the Thomas, which will there sell very well. The 27th of October we cast anchor in the road of Teco, where we found the Hector, who had done nothing. We were in question which of the ships should do you service on this coast, but in regard of the factory procured by the Thomas she was thought the fittest, hoping that the factory here will prove profitable unto your Worships for the time present and to come.

Thus, craving pardon for my boldness, I rest with my prayers for your Worships' prosperous success in all your affairs, which I continually pray for.

Your servant to command,
John Millward.

Teco, November 13th 1615.

Your Worships shall understand after that by general consent the Hector was to depart for Bantan and so for England, they of the Hector said peremptorily that she should stay at Teco and there prosecute her voyage; which I being unable to resist consented to send the Thomas away, knowing how great prejudice it may be unto your Worships for two ships to stay in a place where the lading of one is much to be feared, and besides to enhance the price of pepper. So that I stay here for the settling of the factory and selling of the goods committed to my charge.

John Millward.

Addressed: To the Honourable and Right Worshipful the Governor and Committees of the East India Company. Per the Hector, whom God preserve.

Endorsed: John Milward, from Teco, 13th November, 1615. Read in Court, 27 June, 1616. Entered.

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THE contents or chief points in all the letters received by the Gift and the two letters sent by the Holland ships.[1]

1

John Jourdain, dated in Bantam in December 1615.

[*See* No. 330.]

2

Cassarian David, dated 23rd of December.

[*See* No. 327.]

3

Richard Stanly, purser of the Hector, dated at Tecoo the 12th November 1615.

The New Year's Gift and Solomon depart company with the Hector coming from Surratt the 26th March 1615, the Hector for Achin and they for Bantam. Eight men out of the Hector slain, dead, and drowned from their first setting out from England unto the 26th March 1615. Arthur Spaight made chief commander of the Hector; John Oxwick, chief merchant; John Sandcroft, Edmund Aspinall, Samuel Juxon, factors; Robert Johnson and Esay Butt, assistants. Oxwick would take none advice nor counsel of the rest, etc.; grew into disgrace with the King through his pride etc., and so was not admitted the speech of the King, wherethrough great delays befell us to our great hindrance and loss of men's lives and worm-eating of our ship. Oxwicke by a council displaced from all business till his coming to Bantam, and Arthur Spaight put in his place. The Thomas came from Bantam to Achin to procure licence of the King for trade, which the Hector's men dissuaded them from by reason of the charge. We lost 25 men at Achin, spending $3\frac{2}{3}$ months in that road; so by that time we came from Achin we had lost 35 men in all since our coming out of England. They were three months between Achin and Tecoo by contrary winds. The price of pepper was brought down from 40 to 15 rials the bahar. The Thomas arriveth also at Techo from Achin, the 27th October 1615. The Thomas

procureth licence of trade for two years in the name of William Nichols and not in the name of the Company. Samuel Juxon dieth at Achin, being chief factor there. Reasons alleged by the Hector to dissuade the Thomas from settling a factory at Tecoo etc.; but Milward, the chief merchant in the Thomas, would not be dissuaded, etc. A protest was made by Sandcroft, factor in the Hector, against Milward, factor in the Thomas, in 5000*l.* etc. The Thomas surceaseth and leaveth the Hector to lade in Teco etc. and goeth away for Bantan. The Hector receives from the Thomas 64 packs of baftas, 186 bars of iron etc.; and into the Thomas was laden out of the Hector the indigo and cotton yarn. Three Dutch ships put into Priaman, who came out of England with David Midleton. One of the Dutch ships lost 170 men by sickness. The Hector's cask all bad; therethrough much leakage. Their beef and pork proveth excellent good, excepting some of the beef etc., by salting it in the cold weather. Their bread greatly commended. Their powder very bad; some of it in a manner dissolved. The ship strong and tight, but above water worm-eaten much. The Hector hath in her at the date hereof but 60 Englishmen and 3 blacks; in all 38 men lost. A note of the living men to the date of his letter.

4

John Sandcroft and Edmond Aspinall in Tecoo,
13th November 1615.
[*See* No. 311.]

5

By a certificate from Geo. Chancy.

He assigneth the cause of the dissolving of our factory at Macassar to be the taking of a Portugal vessel by George Ball at Macassar as he came from the Molluccos.[1]

Notes to be remembered in the letters to Bantam.

Seeing the very great difference between the prices of maces and nuts, being there bought together, to take as many nuts as you can, but few maces.

That by every conveyance the purser of every ship send the

account and reckoning of every man that dieth in any ship and the day of his death.

That the factors in every place do the like for all factors and servants that shall die upon the land, and that the chief factor give continual advice where the factors are employed; and to give a discharge with everyone that is dismissed or discharged.

Not to buy any more Coromandell indigo at any hand, for it is very evilly made and will not sell here.

Ships always to be hastened away from Bantam.

Weights and measures to be advised for from Bantam and from all other places.

To make a more strong order against pursers, captains and factors for payment of more than one-third of mariners' and factors' wages in the voyages.

Endorsed: The Contents of Letters received from Bantam by the New Year's Gift, received in 1616.

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Ralph Coppindall to Richard Wickham in Miako.

Laus Deo at the bar of Ozakay, November the 19th anno 1615.

LOVING Friend Mr. Wickham, Yesterday I wrote you a letter wherein I certified you what I have received and delivered unto Mr. Eaton and left it with him. I mistook the date and wrote the 19th for the 18th day. Last night at my coming from Ozekay I received a letter from Captain Cock of the 23rd past, being answer of mine of the 29th September from Miacco, before my going up unto the Emperor. He seemeth discontent that you stay not at Edoe. At your return for Miacco he directeth you should repair for Firando, for he hath appointed Mr. Eaton to stay at Miacco; therefore let it not grieve you to make speed down, and at my coming to Firando I will talk with the Captain more at large concerning these things than yet I have done, for I see Ge[neral] Sa[ris] is not yet out of mind. The time of year for the Leques draweth nigh, whereby

your stay at Firando will not be long. I will do what lieth in me to work your content, both in your absence and presence. Make speed to Firando that we may [*torn*] merry before my departure, for grief will help nothing that [*torn*] not be. Thus hoping ere long to see you in Firando, I [*torn*] and commit you to the protection of the Almighty.

Your loving and assured friend,

Raphe Coppindall.

Addressed: To his very loving friend Mr. Richard Wickham, merchant, these be delivered in Miacco, or elsewhere, in Japon.

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Wm. Nicolls to John Millward and John Yates at Tiku.

In Achein, this 24th of November A.D. 1615.

MR. MILLWARDE and Mr. Yeates, Your healths wished, as also the good event of the Honourable Company's business. By this time I make no question but you both have proved my words true, viz. that those people are fraudulent and spiteful and not one of them constant of word, but daily taxing you by new impositions, by which I see here that you are much encumbered, and the more by your want of language, trusting to a sottish fool whose fond carriage here hath been much ridiculous, that if alike there suffered by you it will prove a great blemish in your own faces and no small hindrance to the business.

I have two days since sold my coarse blue baftas for 8 tayle 2 mass the courge, which I dare say is a better price than you can obtain there. So I could wish that you, Mr. Millward, had left three or four bales of that sort with me; then could I have engrossed certain commodities of the Coast which are here now arrived, viz. four ships from Meslepotan, Negapatan and Collimatt;[1] but you feared danger here and yet there is far more danger by the people's despite, for, as I have divers times told

you, many score times I have been essayed to be robbed and no doubt but they would have parted with no small sum of money to have bereft me of life, they fearing I should live to discover to the King of the customs which I paid there;[1] which I perceiving they did impart for the most part among themselves, I told them I would one day reckon with them. They having been exact at the first, that for six months I did sell or buy there little or nothing, but by that scare (their practices, as I have said, not taking effect) I made a profitable reckoning for the Company. And the less you regard even the best of them the more shall you obtain in fine at their hands.

The sort of steel which I acquainted you withal so vendible in those parts, viz. Bessee Mallella,[2] here is a small quantity brought from Meslepotan, but as yet held at 4 tayle the hundred, which no man here doth yet offer to buy. My purpose is to buy a quantity of that, as the time and my money will permit me. So was that also one special cause that I sold my baftas so soon before the expiration of the monsoone, by the account of this: admit I should keep my baftas yet longer, the rats still eat on them; the King also having at least one hundred bales of baftas blue, if he should cause them by his letters to be sold they would hinder the sale of mine, you knowing them to be coarse and the refuse of what you sold during your abode here. Besides, admit I might by keeping them gain 10 tayle in this parcel, what is that to the profit that may be made by the steel I purpose to buy, which is a commodity fire-free, and it first being bought up by others, how should I employ that gold to profit?

For my whites and fines of both sorts, the King being absent, as you know, they will not vent. And whereas the whites of No. 7 were sold by the Hector's merchants for 10 mass the piece, I have perused them and find them No. 7 but, God knows, champred,[3] and have this month since proffered them together for 8 tayle the courge; which no man will buy, although, you may see, of half loss in comparison of the former rates. Nevertheless, the time serving no better, I will never make their sales of some corge or two a precedent to flatter myself, knowing that one swallow makes not a summer, neither a man a market, and that it happens in an hour that lights not in seven year. Neither is it

possible ever to sell half of my whites coarse at their former rates, the which if you object unto me through weakness, I answer, according to my plain wont, I think there were knaves abroad as bad as huckster;[1] for I could not stand to open every book of calico upon my receipt of them, and I now find such difference amongst them that if I attain to 10 mass[2] for some in a large time's expense, I must sell others of them for 5 and 6 mass per piece or keep them all.

That Ponleema hath here a bad report, that I doubt much of your trouble with him and that you are constrained to give a larger price for pepper than formerly I gave; which if I did certainly understand I hold it most fit to give the King a larger custom out of each particular baharr so we may have liberty to buy pepper at a reasonable prefixed rate, and also a general grant from his Majesty to settle there for certain sale of our Surratt commodities; which if once obtained the Honourable Company might boldly furnish goods from Surratt, whereas now it rests doubtful (as you know) whether we can obtain grant for sales or no, the which must be wrought, I say, by the proffer of profit to the King only. And admit we should proffer to the King three rials of eight out of each baharr, he proclaiming there that the people shall sell us for 12 rials alias one tayle, which makes all but 15 rials the baharr; or if in the sum we did pay, as best shall be liking to the King, 18 rials of eight the baharr, provided firm grant of trade there for cloth, it would prove a trade of great benefit to the Company by gains as well in cloth as pepper. So will I engage my head and whole wages, nay, and prove the Company's captive during my life, if that we have firm grant from the King there to do our pleasure, that from this place I will gain the charge of this and that factory by sending hence thither.

I do wish to hear from you, even with my heart, how matters pass there; for if, according to my experience, those people persevere in doing us continual wrong by restraint of free trade, either the place must be left, or the former benefit specified to the King granted.

For myself, I desire no more from any man but my due; and it is sin, as we say, to belie the devil. Wherefore I earnestly

entreat you to control those lying lips formerly opened touching a ring, as you know; which if not false, then (pardon me, I pray, it sitting so near my heart to permit such abuse) God never prosper me but punish me with all plagues on earth and hell-fire in the world future, which I do now utter with a sobbing heart, capable of the opinion may falsely be had of me through that sycophant fool. And however I may not be without some faults, yet in the pursuit and honest effecting of the Honourable Company's business to my uttermost endeavour I never was backward, as you know, having seen and heard of me even by mine enemy. Wherefore I desire your friendly letter to Bantam that in consideration that I came out purser's mate, and not my works looked on, I may not be tossed to and fro, one day in place and the other out, which is ridiculous; and rather than I may live to have such imposed on me that I may go for my country; otherwise grief will choke me. And indeed I having considered of this place of mine and felt it chargeable to maintain myself in this rank of clothing, my whole wages not being sufficient to furnish me, although I be clad no better than the meanest of the Flemings here, I could willingly leave this place, either to come to Tecoo (where a clout will serve me) or that I may be sent to Surratt by way hence first to Meslepotam and so overland. There I knowing how to furnish out sorts of goods for Achin, Tecoo and Bantam, the Company will find no small profit by the same and the charge small. So may I return for this island by the next ship that shall arrive at Surratt after me.

Here is no certain news from the King, only he is at Mallacca walls, which I doubt are too strong for him to enter in; that before his Majesty's return hither I hope to hear from you, hoping of your healths and quiet living, as here we are.

Thus with my commendations to your landlord and lady together with the Courcowne[1] (all which do not trust notwithstanding), I leave you and rest,

Yours assured at command,

Wm. Nicolls.

Endorsed: Sent pro Tecoo by Datto, an old merchant of the place.

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Laus Deo. Teco, 30th November 1615.

A consultation held at Teco, as followeth:

WHEREAS, after much time spent at Teco, we cut the price of pepper at 15 rials of eight in money, and for 10 white baftas and 10 blue baftas the baharr; and finding that the blue baftas would not sell, in regard they rise very coarse, we offered them first 11 and then 12, yet none would buy of them; now, these blue baftas being the chief means to procure lading, we endeavoured by all means to put them off, and to that end denied the sale of other goods, by which means we sat still for seven days together; and finding that this course took no effect, we sent a quantity of goods to Priaman and gave out that we would go for Cortatinga, thinking by that means to have found them more tractable, but all this availed not; so that, searching further into the cause of our restraint, we found that the great men of Teco pretended to have 300 baharrs of pepper in their hands and until they had sold theirs would not suffer the poorer sort to trade, neither would they take the ordinary price for their pepper, alleging that Captain Keelinge, General Middleton and General Best had given them 4 or 5 rials of eight in every baharr extraordinary, and without some consideration they would not part with it: We, whose names are here underwritten, considering that time is precious (it being now rather time to be going for England than to be providing for lading), do think it convenient to give unto the said great men for their 300 bahars, 300 baftas extraordinary, provided that they furnish us with 500 baharrs of pepper within 21 days following at these prices, viz. for 10 white baftas, 12 blue baftas, 3 blue trickanes and 30 candiques for the baharr. And in witness of our general consent we have hereunto put our hands the day and year abovewritten.

John Millward.
John Sandcroft.
Robert Johnson.
George Pybourne.

Endorsed: The copy of a council held at Teco for the giving away of three hundred baftas to the great men of Teco.

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Raphe Coppindall to the chief factor in Siam.

Laus Deo. Firando in Japan, 5th December 1615.

WORSHIPFUL, I doubt not but long ere this you have received Captain Jourdain his letters, in company with the copies of a general and a private letter from the Right Honourable Company, which were sent unto you per Mr. Denton before my coming from Potania, and have according to the contents thereof turned over all remainders of former voyages unto the Joint Stock. I was of opinion that it was needless to have sent any money in this junk the Sea Adventure, for that, as I understood at Potania, there was in Syam so great a capital now to be turned over to the Joint Stock that I could not make any doubt of means to lade her, though she brought nothing to compass the same; but Captain Cocks alleging that in two several letters he had advised you that he purposed to send a good sum of money therein, which might cause you to dispose of your means otherwise, and also that it often falleth out that junks are by extremity of weather forced upon other coasts where (having means with them to accomplish their lading) do make good voyages, it was by general [consent] thought fitting to send three thousand rials of eight in her, with [some ?] other goods, to prevent the worst that might happen.

I make no question but Mr. Larkin and Mr. Denton have largely advised you what passed about settling the Company's business in Potania; and amongst other things of the opinion at a general council to have a junk laden from Syam with wood and hides to meet such English ship as shall be appointed for this place; which I hope you will, according to advice, accomplish, for you need not doubt of a ship to be there to take in such goods towards the latter end of May at the farthest; and indeed, if there be no greater ship in Bantam, this ship[1] cannot be better employed than for that purpose although she is but of small burden, 150 tons at the most.

Here is no profit to be made by any goods I brought from Bantam and Potania, which were pepper, lead, wax, quicksilver, fowling-pieces and several sorts of India cloth. Sales prove base

and slack, and what little profit is made by some of these commodities is eaten up (with much more) by great presents and charges which this country requireth (although no customs to be paid), as Captain Addames and Mr. Sares[1] can at large advise you.

Next unto our hope of profit to be made in this place by trade into China (if it can be obtained) is that trade of Syam, which, being close followed and with good advice, may prove beneficial and be a great help to mitigate the great charge the Company are like to be at in continuing this factory, which in my opinion (whether profit or loss by sales) they must of force do, being (as I understand) the Honourable Adventurers in the Joint Stock intend, if they join not with the Hollanders, to watch opportunity to set foot in the Moluccoes, as the Hollanders, Portugals and Spaniards have done, and then this place will be a commodious store-house to furnish them with men,[2] munition and victuals at much cheaper rates than elsewhere, for which cause the Hollanders do principally continue this factory.

Captain Addames and Mr. Sares can advise you at large of the Leques, whither we hope ere long to have a trade, having to that intent procured the Emperor's letter to the King of Shashma,[3] who is principal of that place. This and the Company's intent for the Moluccoes you may please to keep secret until further times do reveal it more publicly. I brought four packs of Buckshaws from Potania, which, if they had been mingled with any other colour than red, would have sold at 8, 9 and 10 mas per double piece. I understand that you have good store of that commodity in Syam. If you have any store which are not mingled with red, you may send six or eight packs of them, for a greater quantity will cloy the market, and the people so mutable that that which is a good commodity this year will prove a drug another year. I speak for all sorts of India cloth. Therefore we must strive to provide several sorts and new paintings every year, which will be the chiefest inducement to cause them buy, for they desire not our commodities so much for cheapness as for strangeness, having both silk and linen stuff made here rather better and cheaper than we can afford ours. I brought a drug from Potania, called Gantee,[4] which cost 5½ mas (Potania money) per pecull, and sold here for 6 taies (which is 30s.) per pecull.

Lignum aloes of the principal sort worth 8 and 10 taies the cattie and sometimes more, always ready money as the market goeth; but the other sorts worth nothing. Camphor of Burneo worth 4 taies the taye weight, and that of Trangana[1] and Dongoune[2] worth 1½ and 2 taies the taye weight. Fish skins: ordinary sorts worth little or nothing, the best well chosen worth 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 taies per piece, and some worth more.

How the Portugals and Spaniards grow daily more and more out of the Emperor's favour I refer you to Captain Addames his report.

The Hollanders have for a time overthrown our trade of broadcloth, selling at 7 and 8 taies the tattamy,[3] which is 2⅓ yards at the least. But I trust ere long such course will be taken that they shall pay dear for all the cloth they shall have out of England, whereby they shall smart a little for going to beat us out of trade with the principal commodity of our own country. There was such a business in hand in the parliament at my coming out of England, which God grant may take effect.[4]

It is reported here per certain Japons (which say they dwelt in the English house at Siam) that Mr. Gourney is dead, which if true I am very sorry to hear, but hope in God it will prove otherwise.

Thus, for any news happened in these parts referring you to the report of Captain Addames and Mr. Sares, I commend me heartily unto you and commit you to the protection of the Almighty, resting

Your well willing (though unacquainted)
friend to command,
Raphe Coppindall.

Addressed: To the Worshipful the Agent or Chief Factor for the Right Honourable Company of English Merchants Trading the East India dd. in Siam. Per Capt. Adams, whom God preserve.

Endorsed: Received the 11th of January, 1615 [1616].

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Ralph Coppindall to Robert Larkin and Adam Denton at Patani.[1]

Laus Deo. Firando in Japon, the 5th December anno 1615.

LOVING Friends, Wishing your welfares, etc. After a tedious passage and almost out of hope to obtain my appointed port (by reason of the lateness of the monsoone) it pleased God (praised be His name) to bring me with men, ship and goods in safety unto Firando upon the 4th September past, where I found Captain Adams returned and his junk in trimming anew. He put not into China, as was reported, but into the island called Leque Grande, where he was indifferently entreated, but could not be suffered to repair his junk, as he desired, being forced only to stay for the monsoone to bring him back again hither.

Upon the 11th September I departed from hence towards the Emperor's court with a present (which every ship or junk that cometh hither must of force perform), which with charges much surmounteth an indifferent custom, especially when a ship cometh with a small capital, and sales so base and slack that nothing is here to be expected but loss, except a trade be procured into China, the raw silks of which country are always here ready money and reasonable profit. Either, I say, we must procure a peaceable trade in China, or else, as the Hollanders do, to trade with them per force. And if we set foot in the Moluccoes this place will be a fit storehouse from whence we may always have men, munition and victuals good store and at reasonable rates, for which purpose principally the Hollanders do maintain this factory.

The Portugalls are quite out of favour with the Emperor. They attended forty days at the Emperor's court to deliver their present, which at last was received, but none of them admitted to his presence. It is thought that they will come no more hither with any great ships from Amacon.[2]

Certain Jesuits came out of Nova Espania in embassage unto the Emperor with a letter and a present from the King of Spain, which after a month or six weeks attendance the Emperor

received, but none of the ambassadors admitted to his presence. All the answer to their embassage was to get them forth of his country with speed, upon pain of his displeasure.

This country is now in peace, for that the old Emperor hath made an absolute conquest, having driven the young King quite out of this country and made away most of his principal partakers.[1]

The Gantee which you laded is sold at 6 tayes per pecull, which is 30s. English. The buckshaws, if they had been mingled with any other colour than red, would have sold at 8, 9 and 10 mas the double piece; but being mingled with red as these are will not sell at any rate.

Bantam pepper is more in request than Patania pepper, for that those which have made trial say Patania pepper, though it be fair to the eye, is most part husk.

The seven tayes of camphor which you sent weighed not above 5 tayes here; whereat I marvel if you were not mistaken in the weight.

Fishskins are worth little or nothing. Those of six cupans will not yield 2 mas (which is 1s.) per piece; yet those that are good and well chosen will yield 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 tayes per piece.

Camphor of Burneo, and likewise of that sort which you sent, will yield ready money and profit if bought at reasonable rates; that of Burneo worth 4 tayes the tay weight, the other worth 1½ tay or thereabouts.

Lignum aloes of the principal sort worth 7 tayes the cattie, always ready money; the other sorts worth nothing.

Mr. Lucas advised Captain Cocke that if the English merchants would draw all their trade into one Joint Stock it would be a good course to send a junk every year from Syam to Patania with Syam goods to put aboard such English ship as should be appointed for this place; and indeed Syam commodities, as hides and wood, are the greatest hope of profit (raw silk excepted) that are yet known fit for this place. Therefore I hope what we concluded by council about this business will be well liked of per the Agent at Syam, and a junk sent for Patania without fail.

It pleased God to lay a heavy cross upon us by taking from us both our carpenters within three days one after the other, before any work was begun about the sheathing of our ship; so that we

spend much more time and money than otherwise we should have done; yet I hope the ship will be well repaired and ready to set sail within these forty days.

My return to Bantam will be so late that I am persuaded this ship will be with you the next year, the year being so far spent that there will be little employment for her anywhere else, except upon the coast of Sumatra.

Captain Adams, per whom I send this letter, is now ready to set sail, his junk being strong and well repaired, although to the Company's great charge. She carrieth alongst with her six hundred pounds in rials of eight and two or three hundred pounds in commodities to buy her lading if she should be put upon any other coast, as junks oftentimes are, or else the factory of Syam (not being formerly advised of her coming) should be unprovided of means to lade her. She is about the burden of 200 tons.

Captain Cock is of opinion that the ginghams, both white and brown, which you [?] sent will prove a good commodity in the King of Shashma his country, who is king of certain of the westermost islands of Japon, a man of great power and hath conquered the islands called the Leques, which not long since were under the government of China. Leque Grande yieldeth great store of ambergris of the best sort and will vent 1,000 or 15,000[1] pieces of coarse cloth, as dutties and such like, per annum.

At my being with the Emperor I procured his letters unto the King of Shashma to grant us as free liberties of trade in the Leques and all other his dominions as we had in any other part of Japon; and in February Mr. Richard Wickham is to go thither and (privileges obtained according to the Emperor's order) to remain there.

I know not what else to advise you. If anything better worth notice hereafter, I will (God willing) write you from Bantam, God sending me thither in safety.

I pray you remember my hearty commendations to Mr. Fary and my old consort Mr. Johnson.

Thus for present I commit you and your affairs unto the protection of the Almighty.

Your loving friend to command,

Raphe Coppindall.

You are to note that the people of this country do not buy our sorts of India cloth so much for necessity as for the new and strange fashions and paintings thereof, being a people desiring change; for they have great store of silks and linen stuffs made here better and cheaper than we can afford our India cloth. So that we must strive to procure strange sorts of cloth with strange paintings every year; but such cloth as hath any red painting will not sell here. The Hollanders sell English broadcloth for 7 and 8 tayes the tattamy (which is $2\frac{1}{3}$ yards at the least). The devil haul some of them for their pains. Valete.

Raphe Coppindall.

Addressed: To his very loving friends Mr. Robert Larkin and Mr. Adam Denton, English merchants, dd. in Patania. Per Captain Adams, per way of Syam, whom God preserve.

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Ralph Coppindall to Adam Denton at Patani.

Laus Deo. Firando in Japon, the 5th December 1615.

LOVING friend Mr. Denton, with my kind love remembered. I am sorry to write you such bad news of your adventure, which is here worth nothing. I am offered but two and three mas per piece for your Succadania dishes, six mas for a pecull of your lignum Aqula[1] (I mean after the rate of six mas per pecull for so much as you have); your Mesulpatan cloth worth nothing, being too little for any vest used here; and your quicksilver yet to sell, which no man will buy but the Emperor, but as yet he hath not bought the Company's, which must lie until he have need of it, for none other hath use for it. I think I shall return you all again, and will if I cannot sell them to indifferent content.

The Orrancaia's commodities nothing worth, being so base and coarse that nobody will look upon them; here being such plenty of China stuffs that I think they are not near so cheap in

Bantam. The broadcloth being in so many pieces and several colours will not sell, except the purple, which is a third part of a tattamy more than they use for a cloak, which is a tattamy. They would give seven tayes for it, as the Hollanders sell; but except they will buy the remnants of red at the same rate I will not sell it, thinking to make more of it to our ship's company to pay at Bantam.

The little Jackatra took a Portugall junk laden with ebony,[1] and I think some Chinaman betwixt her and the great ship, for they have sold great store of raw silks which came in this ship and have such store of made silks that they sell very good damasks (twice so good as the Orancaya's) for 2 and 2½ tayes per piece.

Thus, wishing your health, I commit you to God, resting
Your loving friend to command,
Raphe Coppindall.

Addressed: To his very loving friend Mr. Adam Denton, merchant, dd. in Patania.

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Richard Cocks to [John Gourney at Siam].[2]

Firando in Japon, the 6th of December 1615.

WORSHIPFUL, My two last unto you were of the 2nd and 7th ultimo,[3] per way of Langasaque, the first per a China and the other per conveyance of Mr. Melchar van Sanfort,[4] advising of the Sea Adventure's being in readiness and that we meant to send a cargazon of goods and moneys in her sufficient to lade her with red wood and deer-skins, which is the vendiblest commodity you can send from that place and most for the Worshipful Company's benefit; the red wood is sold for three taies and a half per pico[5] and the deerskins from thirty to thirty and three taies the hundred skins. And for the furnishing hereof it is generally agreed upon to send in this junk,

the Sea Adventure, wherein Captain Wm. Adames goeth captain and master, and Mr. Ed. Sayer merchant, viz. two thousand and four hundred taies in silver, whereof

in rials of eight in six bags sealed up and put in a chest	2238 taies
and in melted Japon plate in a bag delivered Captain Adames . . .	0162 taies
Sum total money amounts unto .	2400 taies
with a cargazon of other goods which amount unto as per particulars (?) .	549 4 8¼
Sum total all amounts unto .	2949 4 8¼

So that, God sending it unto you in safety, I make no doubt but you will use all diligence to provide her lading that she may come away with the very first of the monson for her more safe and speedy return, as also to have the benefit of the first market for sales of the commodities you send in her.

And, as I advised in my last, the Emperor did very graciously accept of the present Captain Coppendall carried up unto him, as Captain Adames can better inform you, who was an eye-witness, the Emperor offering to give us anything that might be for the benefit or good of our nation, esteeming us above all other Christian nations whatsoever. And, as I advised you, the Hollanders took a Portingale junk on this coast and brought her into Firando and the Emperor hath allowed it for good prize, both men and goods, and that either we or they may take them or Spaniards at sea and make good purchase thereof, except they have the Emperor's pass. Also you may understand how a ship arrived at Quanto in Japon this year, which came out of New Spain and brought good quantity of broadcloth, kerseys, perpetuanoes and raz de Millan, which they offer at a low rate; but I think it is the last that ever will be brought from thence, for it is said the Spaniards made proclamation with eight drums at Aquapulca and other parts that upon pain of death there should never any more Japons come nor trade into New Spain, and that both they and all other strangers of what nation soever should

forthwith avoid out of all parts of New Spain; but in requital hereof the Emperor of Japon hath made proclamation in pain of death that never hereafter any Japon shall trade nor go into New Spain, and commanded the friars or padres which came in this ship should avoid out of his dominions; for the truth is he is no friend neither to Spaniards nor Portingalls, as Captain Adames will better inform you, unto whom for that and other matters I refer me.

Since I wrote you my last the Portingales of the great ship of Amacan have sold all their Canton silk for 165 tais the picull, but Lankin silk is sold for 230 and 233 taies the picull, and both Portingales and Chinas have sold all their stuffs very well this year, as velvets, both wrought and plain, at 20, 21, [2]2 and 2[3] taies the piece, with grogans, damasks, and satins at 7, 8, 9 and 10 taies per piece, and taffetas that are good, both black and colours, at 29 mas 3 taies per piece; but such stuffs as are sold at this rate are exceeding good and may in some sort be compared to them made in Naples and other parts of Christendom, and such I think as you have hardly seen in these parts of the world. But for any great despatch of other commodities which England affordeth or is else sent from Bantam, Cambaia or the coast of Coromandell, I cannot give you notice of any great good to be done; yet time may teach us that we yet know not of. And I remember Mr. Lucas Antonison [his ?] answer to me in his letters touching the commodities which the China junk brought which came to Syam, that I was ill informed to think such stuffs and silks came for that place, they bringing nothing but pots and pans with porcelain and other trifles,and if any good things came the King took all for himself, so that they had not sufficient to make them apparel; but touching that point no man informed me thereof, only I did think that if China junks came hither that they brought little more or less silks or such other commodities as they bring to Bantam and into these parts.

And for the seven hundred forty and eight taies which I received of Signor John Yoosen by order from Mr. Lucas Antonison,[1] it it now agreed upon per general consent that it shall be sent in the Osiander for Bantam, whereof it may please you to take notice.

And for the difference in account betwixt Mr. Lucas Antonison and the said Mr. Yoosen, he hath written to Mr. Holtman[1] to pay him any such matter as rightly Mr. Lucas Antonison can demand [of?] him, which in my opinion is very reasonable.

I know I need not to put you in mind to assist Captain Adames or Mr. Ed. Sayer in such occasions as they shall want your help, for that you will be forward enough of yourself; yet I shall account anything done for them as if it were for myself. As also a quantity of some 16 piculls of sulphur or brimstone which is [for?] the account of Andrea Dittis, the China Captain in this place, a very good friend of ours, employed about the trade I advised of before, which although Mr. Antonison wrote me he could not imagine any such matter nor that it could come to any likelihood there, yet I am still of the same opinion and have more hope thereof than ever, and therefore desire you for the good of our right honourable employers to use all Chinas in general kindly and to do for this man in particular more than I would desire you to do for myself, and to make him his return in what you may esteem most for his benefit, for anything which cometh to him is received by me, and therefore neither can nor shall be prejudicial to our honourable employers, and yet will make him and others more forward in their proceeding in that matter of importance they are set about.[2] I write largely hereof because I would have you well understand me; yet use not any words hereof, for so will it be better. The two letters for Bantam and Pattania[3] I pray you send away per first conveyance, with the jar of biscuit for Mr. Adam Denton, sent per Captain Adames in the Sea Adventure with a ticket on it with his name. Also there is two other jars biscuit or rusk, one for Mr. John Gourney and the other for Mr. Lucas Antonison; which he being gone for England I wish his may be delivered to Mr. Shipperd; and if Mr. Gourney be deceased (as flying reports are given out he is) then the two jars to be delivered to Mr. Shiperd and the other next or principal in place.

Also you shall receive per the said junk 20 jars of rusk more, which Mr. Gourney wrote for in his letter joint with that from Mr. Lucas Antonison; as also for 1000 leaves of paper, but I could get but five hundred sheets, which cost 5 [taïes] 2 [mas] 5 [condrins];

and the 20 jars biscuit poize net 555½ cattis and cost 3 taies 5 mas the picull, and the jars 1 mas 2 condrins per piece, I say,

500 sheets paper cost 5 taies 2 mas and 5 condryns . .	05	2	5
And 20 jars biscuit poize net 5 picull 55½ catties at 3 taies 5 mas per pecull	18	4	4½
More, the 20 jars at 12 condrins per piece amounts unto .	02	4	0
More, for boards to head them and carpenter's work . .	00	2	5¾
	26	3	5

And so in haste I end, as you may perceive by the writing hereof, the wind being good and junk under sail. Adieu.

Your loving friend at command,

Ric. Cocks.

Endorsed: Received the 11th of January, 1615 [1616].

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Richard Cocks to Adam Denton, at Patani.

Firando in Japon, the 6th of December 1615.

MR. DENTON, May it please you to understand that your letter, dated in Pattania the 5th of July,[1] came to my hands in Firando the 31st of August following, at which time the Osiander arrived here,[2] not without much difficulty, the two Dutch ships which came from Pattania being come in 20 days before her arrival. I wondered at first I received no letter in them from you, but, as Captain Coppendall telleth me, it was because they would not carry your letters, they having denied him the like. The small pattaia[3] called the Jaccatra brought in a Portingall junk prize, laden with ebony wood. The Emperor of Japon alloweth it good prize, both men and goods, and that we (or Hollanders) may take all of them which go without his pass or goshon.[4] Our junk the Sea Adventure lost her voyage the last year per means of sickness and a turbulent company, and so put into the Liqueas, from whence

they returned to Firando, not without danger. There was an Italian taken for a mariner in her and a Spaniard went as passenger; but at their return going to Langasaque the Portingales and Spaniards took the matter in snuff that they served the English, whom they held to be their enemies, that they took them both and put them in chains aboard the great Amacon ship, beginning a process against them as traitors to their Prince and country, and so condemned them to death for serving the English and Hollanders their enemies (as they take us). But I took their cause in hand and sent up to the Emperor and procured them to be set at liberty and returned to us, to the great grief of the Spaniards and Portingales, who are not a little ashamed thereof and laughed to scorn of the Japons, etc.

There arrived a ship from New Spain this year at Quanto in Japon, wherein came three or four friars as ambassadors to the Emperor from the Viceroy; but the Emperor would not so much as speak to them nor receive their present, but sent Captain Adames to warn them to avoid out of his dominions, and made proclamation in pain of death that no Japon shall ever trade into Nova Espania hereafter. For you shall understand this ship was sent out of Japon the last year and, as they report, it was proclaimed with sound of eight drums at Aquapulca, before they came from thence, that in pain of death all Japons and other strangers were forthwith to avoid out of New Spain and never to return to trade again.

They report that seven or eight great ships, either English or Dutch, are in the South Seas and have done much hurt to the Spaniards, so that all New Spain is up in arms and have set out a fleet to seek them; but they know not if they met with them. They have brought great store of kerseys, broadcloth, perpetuanoes and raz of Millan in this ship, and sell it at very base rates. I make account it is the last; which I am glad of.

And concerning the goods you sent from Pattania, we have sold some of your Buxshawes at a tay the double piece, the taie being five shillings. If they had been any other colour but this rusty red, they would all have sold before now. So if you send any hereafter let them be of other colours, either blue, green, black or else. I say any other colour is better than red. And the ganti[1]

is sold for six taies the picull; if it had been in greater pieces it were worth the double, for they make no reckoning of the small. Lignum allowais, if it be good, would sell in some small quantity; but if it be not very good it is worth nothing. Our pepper as yet we have not sold. We are not yet offered above five taies the pico for our Bantam pepper, but your Pattania pepper is better; yet have we sold but one bale thereof at 8 taies per pico. Dutties, I think, will prove a good commodity, in respect we think to trade into Shashma and the Liqueas, having licence from the Emperor to do it already. Dutties will sell for one tay per piece, if they be good. I know not well whether your ginghams will vent there or no till we make trial, but here they are not looked after. Allejas and cajanies are most vendible, and sold according to goodness at two and three taies per piece; but cassedynil, a black stuff spotted with white, were sold the last year for 2½ taies and 3 taies [per] piece the last year, but now not esteemed of. The great ship of Amacan brought some 900 picos silk in her, which now they have sold at 165 taies the pico, being Canton silk, but that of Lanquin is sold for 230 and 233 taies the pico. And all other stuffs are well sold this year, as velvets, both wrought and plain, for 20, 21, [2]2 and 23 taies the piece, satins, damasks and grogrens at 7, 8, 9, and 10 taies per piece, taffetas at 29 mas and 3 taies per piece. But these stuffs sold at this rate are excellent good and such I think you never have seen the like in these parts of the world and may in some sort be compared to those made in Naples and other parts of Christendom.

We have sent a cargazon of money and wares sufficient to lade the Sea Adventure, if upon occasion they cannot recover their port of Syam, but put into Camboja, yet they may have wherewithal to lade the junk and not return empty.

And for wares of Syam, red wood is sold at 3½ taies [per] peco and deerskins at 30 and to 33 taies per 100 skins. These are the vendiblest commodities come to this place. I send you a jar of biscuit in the Sea Adventure, advising to send it you from thence for Pattania per first, desiring you to accept thereof in good part. It is thought the Jaccatra will come this year again to Pattania, but they which deny to carry letters will hardly deliver biscuit, which maketh me to send it per way of Syam.

You write in your letter to will me to assist Captain Coppendall to provide certain matters for you. I told him thereof, but he answered me he could not find such matters as you desire, and therefore needless. Once you may rest assured that I am ready to pleasure you in what I may, as you shall find per experience when you please to make trial. And so, being in great haste, the junk being under sail, I rest and remain

Your loving friend at command,

Ric. Cocks.

Addressed: To the Worshipful his good friend, Mr. Adam Denton, Principal Agent of the English nation at Pattania dd. at Pattania. Per the Sea Adventure and per way of Syam, per Captain William Adames.

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Richard Cocks to Richard Wickham in Osaka.

Firando in Japon, the 10th of December 1615.

MR. WICKHAM, I did make account, by your letter written me from Edo that you would have been here many days past. It was once agreed upon with Captain Adames' consent that he should have given over the Syam voyage and returned to Edo, there to have done the Company service and so at all occasions to have been near the Emperor; but after, he was of another opinion, because he had taken leave of the Emperor and other friends. We had agreed with Skydazen Dono to have gone in her and you to have come and gone chief commander. If Captain Adams had held his former resolution we had sent an express to you to have come away. Our junk departed from hence the 7th day of this month of December betimes in the morning; God speed them well and send them a prosperous voyage.

The Dutch junks will not be ready yet this seven or eight days. The great ship of the Hollanders is ready to set sail and hath been so many days past, but yet goeth not out. The

Osiander will not be ready yet this twenty days. We have had much ado about her trimming, by means of the death of the two carpenters. I send a cargazon of wax, pepper and lead to Mr. Eaton by this conveyance. I might have sold all our lead long time past had I not kept it for the Emperor; but I will never do so hereafter, I mean keep goods by me if I can sell them. I have writ Mr. Eaton to lay by the lead and wax that are to be given to the Emperor. I know not well whether the King of Edo[1] is to have any given him or no; yet I find none in the note you wrote me of presents given them. I pray you inform Mr. Eaton what he is to do herein. I think this wax and lead for the Emperor must be delivered to Safian Dono; I mean that which is given already per ticket[2] to the Emperor in his present.

We are altogether moneyless, and therefore bring what money Mr. Eaton can procure along with you, for to that intent have I wrote him. There was a Japon letter cast into our English house accusing Femage to be a w[hore]; but Captain Adames so handled the matter that the knavery is found out, and he which wrote the letter came and asked her forgiveness in our English house; otherwise, if the matter had been followed, it had cost him his life, the wench putting herself to the trial of fire with a firm and stout resolution. It is certain this was contrived against her per malice of the Hollanders to defame her without occasion. Captain Coppendall sayeth you sent a chest for Femage with apparel and other matters in it; but that chest cannot be heard of. Only Captain Coppendall delivered the key to Mr. Nealson, so it is thought it was left ashore at Osekay by negligence, or else it is lost, as also 2 barrels morofack[3] were, which our host at Osekay sent me. We could not ask any of the barque-men, for they had not firmed[4] to any bill of lading and so utterly deny it. And truly I think, if it be gone, that they had it not. I will tell you my reason at our meeting, which I pray you may be with as much speed as may be per causa.

I know not what else to write but end in haste, resting

Your loving friend at command,

Ric. Cocks.

Addressed: To his loving friend Mr. Richard Wickham, merchant, dd. in Osekay or elsewhere.

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Richard Cocks to President Jourdain at Bantam.[1]
Firando in Japon, the 6th December 1615.

WORSHIPFUL, Your letter dated in Bantam the 5th of April[2] sent in the Osiander per Captain Copindall came to my hand in Ferando the 31st of August following, with the other letter from our right honourable employers, the contents whereof I will see performed so well as I can. And now at present our junk the Sea Adventure being ready to set sail towards Syam, wherein Mr. William Adames goeth captain and master and Mr. Edward Sayer merchant, I thought it good to advise you two or three lines to give you to understand that it will be almost a month before the Osiander be made ready or sheathed, she being very much out of reparation.

Also may it please you to understand that Captain Copindall and Mr. Adams went to Ogusto Samme,[3] the Emperor, with a present, according to the custom of the country, and were very graciously received by him, with offer to let us have any privileges or else whatsoever that might be beneficial for us or our English nation, he esteeming us above all other Christian nations whatsoever.

Also this year arrived at Firando two Holland ships, the one called the Ankewsen[4] and the other a small barque called the Jacatra. They came into this harbour above 20 days before the Osiander arrived, who had much ado to get her voyage, being driven on the coast of Corea. Both the carpenters died as soon as the Osiander came in, which hath been a great hindrance to our proceedings in trimming her, for these country carpenters are not skilful in our work and the Dutch would not so much as lend us one carpenter to instruct the Japons how to work.

The small barque called the Jacatra took a Portingall junk prize upon this coast of Japon and brought her into Firando, and the Emperor alloweth it to be good prize, both men and goods, and that either we or they may make good prize of them, except they go under his goshom or pass.

There arrived a ship from Nova Hispania in Japon with certain friars or padres in her for ambassadors. They brought

good store of broadcloths, kerseys, perpetuanoes and raze de Millan, which they sell away very cheap, for the Emperor has sent the padres word to avoid out of his kingdom and made a proclamation upon pain of death that no Japon shall trade in New Spain any more; and the rather because these Japons bring word that at Aquapulca it was proclaimed with sound of eight drums (as the like they say hath been done in all other parts of New Spain) that upon pain of death all Japons and all other strangers were forthwith to depart and never to come to trade there again. They report also of eight sail of Dutch or English ships that are in the South Seas and played rex;[1] against whom they set out a fleet, but they know not whether they met with them or not, because they stayed not long in one place; only they careened on the coast of Chyla.[2]

The baftas you sent in the Osiander are the most part of them so spotted, stained and some rotten, that they will never yield the price they are rated at, and of force they must be so before they were put aboard, for that the papers are fair without and the goods rotten within. As also the parcel of wax is so bad that no man will look at it; and were it very good it would hardly sell for 18 or 20 tayes per pecul; but for this no man offereth yet 10 taies per pecul. And for hope of trade into China I am still in former opinion, and therefore wish Englishmen to use Chinas kindly.

I am glad that Captain Brewer[3] delivered my letters unto you, which I hope are in the Honourable Company's hands in England before now. The letters which came in the Osiander I forthwith delivered to the Holland Captain in respect mine were delivered, but they which came in the Ankewson and Jacotra would not bring us a letter from Potania to advise us of the Osiander's coming. Only they said we had a small ship coming, but they knew not her name.

I cannot write of any great good is to be done in the Japon trade as yet; only my hope is to have entrance into the other country. The great ship of Amacon hath sold her silk this year at 165 taies the pico (the taie is 5s.); and the Chinas sell Lankin silk for 233 taies the pico. All sorts of stuffs have been well sold this year, as velvets, both wrought and plain, for 20, 21, [2]2 and

23 taies the piece, satins, damasks and grograms at 7, 8, 9 and 10 tayes per piece, taffetas at 29 mas and 3 taies per piece. But these stuffs that are sold at these rates are excellent good, and may in some sort be compared to them of Naples or that are made in other parts in Christendom. I think there cometh none such to Bantam, as Captain Copindall may better inform you. Our cloth of Cambaya goeth but slowly away, except it be some spotted or new-fangled painted piece; and their minds are so changeable that that which is good now may be worth nothing the next year, as we find in our cassedenills, which the last year were the best commodity of all, and now not looked after. And therefore new painting must be devised and the stuffs of a fit length and breadth to make Japon habits, as Mr. Copindall will bring samples.

I had almost forgot to advise you that the last year we entertained an Italian called Damian Maryn to go a mariner in our junk for Syam and another Spaniard John de Lievana went as a passenger in her; but she, losing her voyage, put into the Liqueas and so returned back to Firando; which the Spaniards took in snuff that these men served the English, and therefore took them prisoners and put them in chains aboard their great ship, making process against them as traitors to their Prince and country in serving their enemies, for so they framed their writings to the Emperor's deputy, which writing came to my hands and I mean to send it in the Osiander that the Right Honourable Company may see it; for I understood before that we had been held as friends. Yet I took the matter in hand to free these two men, which I performed to their shame, which angereth them very much, for they had condemned them to death and sent padres to confess them. I think it will make them take heed how they meddle with any that go in our shipping, either runaways or others, for there must be restitution.

I think duttie will prove a good commodity now we have permission to trade into Shashma; those which are good will sell for a tay apiece, but we have many that are rotten, stained and eaten with rats. I think they will prove the vendiblest cloth of Cambaya that you can send for these parts. Allejas and cajanies are also good.

I know not what else to write; but give you many thanks for the present you sent me of a hat and a piece of satin, for which I rest your willing debitor, remaining always

Your Worship's assured at command,

Rich. Cock.

Endorsed: Richard Cock from Japon unto John Jourdaine in Bantam of the 16th December, 1615, sent in copy to the Company, and received in London the 20th June, 1617, by the Clove. Ext [racted].

Also a line in cipher, and: Received this the first of December, 1616.[1]

323

Hugh Greet[2] to Sir Thomas Smythe.

Bantam, the 18th December 1615.

RIGHT Worshipful, My most humble duty premised etc. I have been bold to write unto your Worship formerly three several times, the first by Abraham Laus, master of the Peppercorn, the second by Christopher Luther, the third by William George the Scotchman, and the fourth sent to Bantam from Socadana by Frauncis Kellie, the tenor whereof was to understand what rate diamonds went at in England; of which four letters I have as yet received no answer, whereby I am forced to buy them here at haphazard, not knowing whether I overrated them or not, having been long out of England, in which time (for aught that I know) the prices of them may alter. I was determined to come for England in the Gift, but at the request of Captain Jordaine I accept of his kindness and am content to go for Socodana, where I am appointed chief. There I will endeavour to do your Worship all service to my power.

I have received of my wages here in the country the sum of 130 rials of eight, besides what is in the Trade's book, which I

cannot very well remember; the residue whereof I entreat your Worship to take into your hands, and for the employing thereof I commit to your Worship's wisdom, either to employ it for me privately at your pleasure or else to put it to the account of the Joint Stock.

Concerning the want of the diamonds, which the Company writes for hither, I have sufficiently informed Captain Jordaine of; the total sum of all diamonds bought here by me amounts to the sum of 455 carrickes and a quarter; but had I had money sufficient I could have made every hundred a thousand.

Having made determination to go home I had provided certain China commodities to carry for England, but, my mind being altered by reason of the Company's service, I am forced to sell them here and to put them into the purser's book, the sum whereof amounting to the sum of 103 rials of eight, which I entreat your Worship likewise to take into your hands and dispose of it at your pleasure.

I am bold (craving your Worship's pardon) to send unto you a Japann staff all set with mother of pearl and five Coromandell napkins to my good Lady, which I beseech your Worship to accept of and excuse the meanness thereof, having at this time no other thing worth the presenting your Worship withal.

And, to end as I began, remembering my most humble duty to yourself and my good Lady, I commit you both to the safe tuition of the Almighty God, and rest

Your Worship's in all service to my power,

Hugh Greete.

Addressed: To the Right Worshipful Sir Thomas Smythe, Knight, Governor of the East India Company in London, these be dd.

Endorsed: Hugh Greete in Bantam the 18th December, 1615. Entered.

324

Samuel Boyle to the East India Company.

In Bantam, the 20th December, 1615.

RIGHT Worshipful Sir and Sirs, After my respective duty remembered, etc. May it please your Worships to take notice that my last was per the Samaritan,[1] to which I refer etc. And concerning of business since passed, these are to acquaint your Worships that the Osiander, appointed for Japan, set sail out of Bantam in April last, being enjoined to visit and supply the factories of Succadana and Puttaney, whose return from Jappan we expect within a month or two at the farthest. And since, upon advice from Pottaney, we heard how the Darling is there laid up, chiefly through the occasion of some turbulent and evil-disposed persons, for assuredly the bad agreement amongst their company, still contesting against each other upon any slight or trivial occasion, was the principal cause of her untimely laying up.

Captain Nicholas Dowton with the Gift and Solomon arrived here in June last, per whom we heard of the fight between our four ships and the Portingalls, and of the Hope's departure from thence laden; Captain Dowton appointing the Hector to go for Achyn before her coming to Bantam to make sale of her cloth, she having good store of Cambaya cloth, ordaining in case she should not find good vent at Achyn, then to go for Pryaman, Teckoo, Cotatinga, and other places upon the coast of Sumatra, which esteem well of Cambaya cloth and in barter they give pepper, camphor, benjamin and gold.

The Advice and Attendant arrived in Bantam the 24th July last. The Advice, being fitted with her lading, set sail for Japan within fourteen days after her arrival here.

The Solomon, bound for Mesolaptan, set sail from Bantam in August last, she being well fitted with an ample cargazon and well requested at the Coast; whose voyage, with all other your Worships' proceedings, the Lord grant to prosper.

The Concord arrived in Bantam in August last from the Mallucco-cos, having made a barren voyage through the hard measure offered

us per the Flemings, who never fail to wrong the English in what they can. For so long as our ships stayed in the Malluccos they were wafted and followed from port to port per two or three of their ships of war, purposely to debar and hinder us from trade with the people of Amboyna and Banda, who generally stand well affected towards the English and desire nothing more than to have free liberty of trade with us, especially the Bandanezes (with whom the Hollanders have wars), who sent purposely one of the principal men of their country to capitulate with the chief in Bantam concerning conditions of agreement between them and us. Their demands in effect are only this, that the English would furnish them with powder, shot, cloth and rice out of our shipping which go yearly for the Malluccas, which we performing towards them they for their parts promise to reserve their nuts, mace and cloves only for the English, prohibiting all other people strangers to trade for any kind of spice within the liberties of their five confederate islands, being the principalest islands of Banda, which conditions being firmly ratified it would bring the nuts and mace wholly into our own hands, which would prove very beneficial unto the Worshipful Company etc., Pollaway being one of the five islands, where your Worships hath a factory established, from whence Sophoney Cozuick came in September last, who brought the foresaid ambassador along with him for Bantam.[1]

The Thomasine after a hard voyage in the Malluccoes was cast away upon the Celebes through the negligence of careless people sleeping in their watch. The ship having fresh way with a stiff gale of wind under all her sails was brought fast upon a cragged rock and presently bilged with her hold and gunroom half full of water, whereupon her company were forced to forsake the ship without saving any of her goods, only her men and the money belonging to the ship's stock, both which came for Bantam in the ship's boat.

The Attendant was laden and sent for Jambee, which place lieth upon the east side of Sumatra, hitherto not discovered per any Christians, but now upon good hopes of the place it was held requisite to send the Attendant that way, to make trial of the place whether it be answerable to the reports of many men of

good credit in this country. The Flemings have sent a ship thither this year upon good hopes of the place.

The Thomas arrived in Bantam this instant month, who came from the coast of Sumatra, where she hath settled two factories, the one at Achyn, and the other at Pryaman; and upon the Hector's [Thomas's?] arrival at Achyn they found but slack and small sales of cloth, per reason the Hector brought some store in the country with her, and, to put it off, passed from port to port to find sales, have in a manner glutted the country with cloth; and therefore upon advice between the factors of the Hector and the Thomas, it was held fitting to send the Thomas for Bantam and that the Hector should stay [in ?] the country some four or five months longer, in which time they make account (with God's assistance) to despatch her away for Bantam. But the season and monson will not serve for her return to England this year, and therefore in the meantime to be employed in the country until the prime of the next monson; wishing she had arrived in time to have returned in company with the Gift, who is laden and upon departure, whose voyage the Lord prosper and send her a safe arrival into England.

Further, concerning the state of your Worships' factory in Bantam, which is left bare and disfurnished of moneys per straining to provide the Gift's lading, being forced to give ready money for the most part of her pepper and at very high rates; secondly, the dishonest dealing of the China merchants of Bantam, who are indebted to the Worshipful Company to the quantity of 16,000 sacks of pepper, for which they have been credited with moneys, giving them eight or ten months time with conditions to bring in their pepper in the months of September, October or November at the furthest, which they have heretofore kept touch in their payments indifferent well; but upon the lading of the Gift it proved otherwise, she staying a month extraordinary upon the coming in of pepper, but in fine little could be gotten until we gave ready money; and bringing money in hand we wanted no pepper; which we could per no means avoid, for lading must be had, which could not be accomplished without ready money. The Flemings having found the like dealing from the Chinezes, who have been curbed with the same bit, for they could not receive

in a bag of pepper upon their debts, the Chinezes owing them 70,000 rials of eight, as per their bills delivered up to the Pangran per way of complaint appeared; but they could get no justice, neither for the recovery or better security for their debts, and being destitute of money they could not get in any pepper until the arrival of five ships out of Holland; which supply came them well to pass, otherwise they had not laden any pepper for Holland this year.

Further may it please your Worships to understand that the Thomas with a pinnace are appointed to go for the Mulluccos this year, where they may soon procure their lading if not hindered per the Flemings, who being so strong in shipping not only debar us and hinder us from trade but also wrong our country with injurious and scandalous speeches, of which their manifold abuses your Worships shall be more amply informed per articles drawn of their gross and peremptory dealings towards the Concord and Thomasine at their being in the Malluccos the last year.

So, desiring your Worships' favourable censures for my presumption, I conclude with my prayer to Almighty God for your Worships' healths and happy increase. I rest

Your Worships' humble and faithful servant,

Samuell Boyle.

Addressed: To the Right Worshipful Sir Thomas Smith, Knight, Governor of the Company of Merchants Trading the East Indies, and to the Worshipful the Committees of the same, dd. in London. Per the Gift, whose voyage God preserve.

Endorsed: Samuell Boyle. Bantam, December 20, 1615. Entered.

325

Richard Cocks to John Gourney at Siam.

Firando in Japon, the 20th of December 1615.

SIR, My last unto you was per the Sea Adventure dated the 6th current,[1] wherein Mr. Wm. Adames went for captain and Ed. Sayer merchant. They departed from hence the 7th current or of this month of December in the morning, having had a northerly wind ever since; so we hope they have a short voyage, etc. We sent you in her a cargazon as follows:

	taies	m.	c.
In money six hundred pounds sterling is	2400	0	0
In merchandise 549 tais 4 mas 8½ condrins . .	0548[2]	4	8½
Sum total amounts unto	2949	4	8½

which is thought sufficient to relade her back with red wood and deerskins, they being the vendiblest commodities in these parts, the red wood being sold at 3½ taies the pico and so to 4 taies, and the deerskins at 30 and so to 33 taies the hundred skins.

There arrived a great ship this year at Langasaque which came from Amacan laden by Portingales. She brought some 900 picos of Canton silk, which they have sold at 165 taies the pico. They brought some store of fine stuffs, which they sold very well, as velvets, both wrought and plain, at 20 and so to 23 taies per piece; satins, damasks and grograns at 7, 8, 9, and 10 taies per piece; but these were excellent good silks and such I think you never saw the like in these parts of the world, and may in some sort be compared to them of Naples or that are made in other parts of Christendom. They also sold store of grograns de Canton (as they call them), being a kind of striped silk stuff; they were sold the last year for 22 mas and 2½ taies per piece, but this year at 3 taies per piece. There is much deceit in some of them, being good for a fathom or little more in the beginning and all the rest of the piece worth nothing; but merchants that stand upon their credits will sell no such commodities, especially to them they mean to deal with another time. We have sold some

small quantity of our white baftas of 11 rials for 8 and 9 taies per piece, some 30 corge; and other sorts of pintadoes, chaders and buxshaws at one tay per piece. But Japon linen cloth is so good cheap that little good is to be done in those commodities. The buxshaws would sell well if they were of any other colour but red. As also all our dutties are gone that were good at one tay per piece; and allejas Amadavad and cajanies harer are in good request. So if you have any of these sorts which you cannot sell you may send them by the junk if you please.

There is this year a ship come from Aquapulca out of New Spain, which went the last year out of Japon. They are arrived at Quanto, in the north parts of Japon. They bring good store of broadcloth, English kerseys, perpetuanos and raz de Millan, which they offer to sell at low rates, as Captain Adames will inform you, God sending him to Syam in safety. They bring news of eight great ships which are in the South Sea, having passed the straits of Maggelanus and were careened in Chilo and, as they report, have done some spoils on the coast of New Spain, which hath made them all up in arms, and, as they say, have set out a fleet of ships to seek them, but whether they met with them or no, they know not, neither can they tell whether they were English ships or Hollanders. Captain Adams will inform you as much hereof as I can tell you, as also of the setting at liberty of Damian Marin and John de Lievano, two Spaniards which went in our junk the last year when she lost her voyage; for which the Portingals took them prisoners and put them in irons aboard their great ship, because they served the English or went in their shipping; but full sore against the Portingalls' and Spaniards' wills I procured their liberties, which vexeth them not a little.

Thus much have I advised to Bantam per the Ankewsen, a great ship of Holland which is now ready to depart with a junk in their company; but the Osiander will not be ready this 20 days or a month, having sprung her mast in bringing her to a careen and yet cannot do it. The enclosed letters for Captain Adames and Mr. Ed. Sayer I pray you deliver, as also to send the other to Mr. Adam Denton to Pattania per first conveyance.

By the Sea Adventure I sent two jars biscuit to you and the next to you in place (which I take to be Mr. Sheppard), and a third

for Mr. Adam Denton to be sent to him to Pattania with his letter. The three jars biscuit you are to receive of Captain Adames. This is all I have to advise at present, and so end with my hearty commendations, committing you all with your affairs to the holy protection of the Almighty, resting always

Your loving friend at command,

Ric. Cocks.

Here enclosed I send a second bill of lading of goods sent in the Sea Adventure.

Addressed: To the Worshipful John Gourney, Agent to the Right Honourable English Company, or to the next in place in his absence, dd. in Miaco[1] in Syam. Per Mr. Piter Johnson, whom God preserve, and under cover from Captain Jacob Speck.

Endorsed: Received the 14th of February 1615 [1616].

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Richard Rowe to the East India Company.

Aboard the Thomas in Bantam road, the 21st of December 1615.

HONOURABLE and Right Worshipful Sir and Sirs, My duty remembered, etc. You may please to understand it was determined by general consent of merchants and masters of the Hector and Thomas in the road of Tecoe that the Thomas should there attend the getting her lading, and the Hector with money and goods fitting for Bantam and England to depart; but after, on further consideration, it was determined the Hector to stay and attend the factory of Tecoe and parts adjoining, as Priaman, Cortatinga, Parsaman and Barouse, if need, and the Thomas to proceed for Bantam. So the 13th of November I made sail in the Thomas out of the road of Teco bound for Bantam, leaving all the remainder of our goods laden at Bantam, being 63 packs and some loose goods, aboard the Hector in the charge of Mr. John Millward, cape merchant of the Thomas, and received out of the Hector 133 chorrells[2] of

indigo with 29 packs of cotton yarn and a chest of 4,000 rials, also from Mr. Millward 776 rials with a bill of exchange on the Dutch of 224 rials, and 17 baharres 13 cattees of pepper taken in at Acheen; all which goods and moneys are redelivered to your chief factor at Bantam. Eighth of December, thanks be to God, we safely arrived at Bantam, where we found the Gift almost laden for England, but must, as they reported, have gone with some dead freight had not the Thomas arrived with that means for her lading. Moneys are here scant and debts hard to get in. I had good hope to have come for England this year, but it falls out otherwise; and must, as far as I yet understand, go for Banda and Amboyna. God grant we may do your Worships that good service you expect and desire. I have sent your Worships a letter I wrote at Tecoe[1] with this, and although neither of them are of any business of import, yet to show my duty, and that I desire not to be counted unmindful and ungrateful to so honourable and worthy masters, I have made bold thus so far to trouble you. And with prayer to Almighty God for prosperity in all your honourable affairs, will rest now and ever most humbly to be commanded in what service I can,

Ric. Rowe.

Addressed: To the Honourable and Right Worshipful the Governor and Committees of Merchants Trading the East Indies, these be dd.

Endorsed: Rich. Rowe from Tecoe, the 21 of December, 1615. Read in Court, 27 June, 1616.

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Cassarian David to the East India Company.

Bantam, the 23rd of December 1615.

RIGHT Honourable and Right Worshipful, My most humble duty premised, beseeching God always to prosper you in all your affairs etc. Your abundant love and fatherly care always so exceedingly showed towards me makes me at this time bold to present your Worships

these few lines of thankfulness, being not otherwise able to requite the unspeakableness of your goodness, the tendering favour of whose protecting hand although I cannot be said to deserve in the least degree, yet as long as God shall lend me life and health I will strive to discharge the duty of an humble and honest servant to my uttermost power.

The 10th of March 1613 [1614] the Darling being appointed by Captain Saris to go for Pottanie, I was placed as a factor in her, the chief being Robert Larkine, and so we proceeded, having order first to touch at Socadana, where we arrived the 2nd of April, 1614; where understanding that there was a factory established at Sambas upon Borneo, Mr. Larkin, with the general consent of all, delivered unto me a cargazon of goods and I proceeded for that place, where, having taken an account of John Daye, the former factor, I remained there from the 7th of July 1614 to the 25th of November ditto; but finding the trade of the country nothing answerable to those great charges the Right Worshipful Company had sustained in sending thither, as also having been three several times in danger of death through the treacherous dealing of the people (and indeed had died had I been subject to their enticements),[1] I got leave of the King to go for Socodana. So, having in the night time shipped all my goods and slaves in a prow, I departed with an excuse to fetch more goods, thinking better to have my life and that which remained than stay upon no hopes at all and endanger all. And being arrived at Socodana the 18th of December ditto, being master and pilot myself, having been in danger of being cast away six several times, all redounded to our comforts; for God, who is always ready to help them that call upon Him in their distress, delivered me from all and brought me safely to my wished port; where being entered I found a junk belonging to the English being ready to set sail for Bantam, having a return of diamonds for the Company, which junk the next day set sail, but having very contrary winds she was fain to come in again, upon whose return I thought good (having not winds for Bantam) to search the coast along; and so, having shipped myself with a cargazon of goods to the value of 540 rials in Suratt cloth, I set sail, having six Englishmen more in my company. So the 10th of January

ditto we arrived at Bengermassine,[1] a place whereof we have had good report, where having talked with the Sabandore (for the King's court is two days and two nights up into the country) we found them very kind and tractable people, likewise a country where I saw I could do the Company good; whereupon, with the general consent of the country and those English which were with me, I landed such goods as then I had in charge and abided there myself alone, having despatched the junk for Maccassar to fetch more goods with all expedition, finding the sale of cloth at Bengermassine very quick and at reasonable good prices, as also abundance of diamonds, sand-gold and beasars,[2] although the diamonds cannot be bought but for rials. Where I abode from the 10th aforesaid to the 18th of October, 1615, making what means I could with that small stock I had to employ, having had for the space of almost ten months no supply nor any answer from any place where the English were. Seeing which defect in Englishmen in not supplying of me and my stock being laid out part in building, part in presenting of the King and the nobility, part in diet, part in beasares for the Company's account, and wanting means to do anything in the country for lack of supply, I shipped myself in a Mollayan junk, leaving slaves, house and the small remainder of goods in the King's hands, I departed for Bantam having the time of the year and the opportunity of the monethsone.[3] So the 18th of October 1615 I arrived in the road of Bantam, where I found riding the Gift and the Concord and two other small pinnaces belonging to the English, but the Hector and the Thomas were at Priaman.

As concerning the state of Bengermassine, the people of the country are very sociable and kind. Their language is Malaya, and their habit Java. The commodities this country yields is sand-gold in great abundance and as good as any other country yields, which, if a man will buy for money, the tayle will cost 12 rials but in weight (?) we find it to be worth 13 rials. Their beasars are exceeding good and great, whereof I have bought a parcel for your Worships' account, which are sent unto you by the General, Captain Ellton,[4] of which yourselves may be judges what they are. They are bought for less than their weight in gold, so that they do not exceed the weight of a tayle; for if they

be one tael and a half the single stone, then their price is twice their weight in gold. Their diamonds are as good as those of Landocke, but hitherto I have traded for none, because they cannot be bought but for money, whereof the country stands in great want; and I hitherto have had none to employ. And at this time I am ready to embark and go for the same place again, where I hope, if supplies be not wanting, with such goods as are vendible in the country I am certain your Worships will receive great benefit.[1]

As concerning myself I must now turn to pleading of poverty, having but 15*l*. a year wages, which is scarce able to maintain me in clothes to the end of the year to do your Worships any credit; which I humbly beseech you to think upon, and your Worships' humble servant shall be bound to pray for your prosperity to his life's end.

And so I commit the consideration of this business to your Worships' wisdom, and you and it and us all to the safe tuition of the Almighty God; and rest

Your Worships' most humble servant,

Cassarian David.

Addressed: To the Right Honourable and Right Worshipful Company of Merchants of England Trading into the East Indies these be dd. Per the General.

Endorsed: Cassarian David from Bantam, December 23, 1615. Read in Court 27th June 1616. Entered.

329

Richard Baker[2] to Sir Thomas Roe.

Suratt, the 25th December 1615.

RIGHT Honourable, We received your Lordship's letter from Brampoore in answer to a former sent your Lordship, and therein understood of your indisposition to health, of which we were right sorry. In the foot of that letter you seemed to be much discontented by means of

some information of the disposing of three yards of cloth which Cupid[1] had, wherein we did nothing without the General's order, which was to keep the cloth. We sent your Lordship's letter to the General, for that you wrote you were informed by him that we or some of us thought much that he had that cloth. The General answered that he had wrote nothing upon which any such matter could be collected; and so we desire you to hold a good opinion of us until it be truly demonstrated that we have deserved the contrary.

Touching the Governor here we have many conflicts. He hath abused our King in words, for about a month since he asked us by way of interrogation what your Lordship carried up: a drum and a coach? and said our King was but as one of the noblemen here, of a little island. So we prayed him to leave talking of Princes' matters: our King was as able to be avenged of his enemies, and better too, than the Mogul. This was two days after we received the firman from the Prince; and he told us, when we pressed him with that firman, that if we should send for another, though he did nothing, yet with the holding up of his finger never a boatman would put his hand to, nor porter to work for us; and in such scornful and reproachful terms: What carries your Ambassador? We have [been ?] forced to let him take what he will, and comes to no account, save only 12 cloths; he gives us 15 mahm [udis] per covedoe, but racks so many polling duties —3 pyce out of every mahm [udi] for receiving the money in his house. The cloth was worth 20 mahmud [is] per covedoe. Many other things he hath, both of the Company and particular men, which we do not know how to be paid for it; and many presents he hath received since your Lordship's departure, and yet no licence obtained for to carry our goods out of town. Here hath been Portingalls of Daman which hath presented him with a fair horse and other things, and there is such a connivancy between them as we know not what to think. A ship of the Prince's is gone hence to Goga to lade for the Red Sea and pretends to have a licence from the Portingalls, but I think only to deceive them. The Portingalls have their prisoners at liberty. And it please your Lordship this business will hinder much, the King granting one thing and the Prince (whose this is) another. Upon the last

of all the Governor told us that he had received two firmans, one from the King and another from the Prince, both importing our departure the country this munson, but he had petitioned that we might stay until the next easterly munson; what time (without further order) we took knowledge of this summons and to this note (the copy whereof verbatim I send your Lordship) and the General and we were forced to seal it and subscribe it before he would give leave to do anything to take out any goods out of the Custom house;[1] and whether we shall yet be well dealt withal we know not. He pretends to do it to show the Prince above; but I rather think it is to show the Portingalls, to make fair weather with them till their ship be clear the coast.

The Portingalls would have gone aboard the ships, but the General refused it. I would entreat your Lordship to remember the letter for my cousin Scott concerning the Lion's Claw.

As being in great haste at the dispeeding of this pattimere[2] by the General's order, and not having further to enlarge, do humbly commit you with your affairs to the merciful protection of the Almighty, resting

Your Lordship's in all good service to command,

Richard Baker.

Your Lordship's page hath been much disordered since his recovery, both in and out of house. Complaints daily comes to the house—quarrelling in the streets; making lecherous signs to women with his hands, of which divers Banyans complain; running into their houses and putting his hands into their pots of meat and drink of purpose to anger them; beating our peons[3] in house and other youths; which for your Lordship's sake we have tolerated.

R. B.

Addressed: To the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Roe, Knight, Lord Ambassador from his Majesty of Great Britain to the Great Mogul, dd. in Ageemere.

Endorsed: Baker, from Suratt, December the 25th, 1615.

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John Jourdain to the East India Company.

[Bantam, December, 1615.[1]]

RIGHT Honourable, My duty remembered, etc. May it please you to understand that my last was by a Holland ship of the 30th of September . . . . .[2]

Right Honourable and Right Worshipful, Thus far forth a copy of a letter written by the Dutch ship, doubting much of the delivery thereof. Therefore I will at large advise of all thing that hath passed since. As first, after the death of Generals Dowtinge aboard the Gift, according to your Worships' order, in presence of the chiefest merchants there was a box opened aboard the Gift, wherein was found order that Mr. Elkington should succeed in place of General Dowton, and for that the commission could not be altered that Mr. Elkingtone should go home in the ship and myself to remain in Bantam, which I was very loth to accept, in regard I had already begun to deliver up the remainder of all goods unto Mr. Elkingtone; yet because of the present necessity I was content until the coming of Captain Cellinge[3] or some other General. But had I stayed in Bantam I was determined, according to your Worships' order,[4] to have spent one year more about the Malucas, although our people had ill success there this year, being as it were beaten from thence by the Hollanders, the castle of Cambela being delivered up to them for his Majesty's use and your colours set up in it, which the Hollanders shot at and raised arms against it, so that they were fain to forsake it, as also at Hito the like, so that our people were fain to retire aboard and leave all; the people of all these countries desiring to trade with us as friends, notwithstanding the Hollanders threatening them with their forces. They have nothing to do with them, neither have they conquered those places. At Banda they did the like, but the Bandaneses put them to the worst and killed above three hundred of their best soldiers. We had a house there at that time and a small pinnace drawn up dry to stay until they had gotten their lading; but the Hollanders commanded them divers times to depart, but they stayed it out till the last of August, at which time she departed thence with the pinnace laden

with mace and nuts and left at Poloway a factory of two Englishmen; Saphone Cosicke coming himself with the pinnace to Bantam and brought an arankey with six persons more with him, they desiring aid and trade of us to furnish them with victuals and munition, promising to sell no spices to any but unto us, as per the copy of a letter herewith doth appear.[1] These people, the Bandaneses I mean, we determine by God's help to send them back again with content until farther order; as also a kinsman of the King of Macasar and the Sabindore, which the Flemings brought from thence per force and killed some seven of the Macassares; and because the king of Macassar hath made means by George Cockaine,[2] left there chief factor, to have them sent back again by us, I have used my best endeavours to get them from the Hollanders. They first promised them unto me, but after, going from their words, they delivered them into the custody of the King of Jacatray, with whom I have been to make suit for their liberties,[3] which he hath in secret promised to deliver them unto me when our ship is ready to go that way. Also the Hollanders have desired the King to deliver them back again to them, saying that they will carry them to Macassar, which the King refuseth to do, in regard that they are of his law and unwilling to come near the Hollanders, because the King of Macassar hath written to them that if they return with the Hollanders he [will ?] take them for lost men, for that he will not receive them at their hands but doth determine never to have friendship more with them, and hath already 30,000 fitting men at 12 hours' warning to defend his country;[4] and to this effect the King of Macassar hath advised me and entreated me by letter to do my best to send them in some English ship. Therefore, seeing that pepper falls out short for the lading of the Thomas home, and she being a better ship than the Concord, it is thought fitting that she proceed in that business for Macassar, Banda, and from thence to Japon, there to trim, for that she is in ill case, the beams of her lower orlop being broken and rotten. We are minded to send the Concord likewise for Banda and Amboyna in company with the Thomas, as likewise the small pinnace, but I doubt we shall not have men enough to man them all. And the other pinnace called the Endeavour, which General Dowton caused to be built upon the junk, is to go

for Sacadaina and from thence to Benjermasine, of which places we have great hopes, especially of Benjermasine, for vent of cloth for gold, which gold is better esteemed than any other at Sacadaina. Casarian David came from thence in a junk, who doth [give?] us great encouragement for that place, as no doubt he doth advise your Worships thereof at large.[1] Now for the setting forth of these ships, we shall not be able to furnish them all, for want of men and money, which if we cannot do we mind, God willing, to furnish those that goeth the better.

The 8th of this present arrived the Thomas from Tecoo without any lading, only some 72 bahares of pepper, which is laden in this ship. She could not be permitted trade at first, because there was express command from the King to the contrary; so they were fain to go to Achine for licence, where they met the Hector, who had gotten a licence for their ship to trade. Notwithstanding, the Thomas must needs spend money in getting of another and stayed for that purpose behind the Hector, leaving there Wm. Nicholes and one merchant more and returned to Tecoo, where they had left all their goods, where the Hector stayeth to get her lading, and hath taken a house together, which God grant that they may better agree than formerly. There is such suing for superiority for the advancement of each his particular voyage as though the uniting of the Honourable Company were forgotten amongst them, each seeking to sell first, although it be to the great hindrance of the general stock, not considering that it all belongs to one and the same company.

This year doth fall out so bad that all our debitors doth fail us and chiefly Kewee, our ancient merchant, who is indebted to the Worshipful Company 13,000 sacks of pepper and 2,000 rials in money, and not able to pay one sack this year. So that we have been constrained to buy all the pepper, or the most part, for ready money at 20 rials per ten sacks, being crossed by the coming-in of five Holland ships, who supplied their wants of money, being before indebted above 18,000 rials; and as soon as their money came they laid out to buy or forestall all the pepper, and took Kewee prisoner for 3,000 rials which he remained surety for others, not once offering to apprehend the chief debitors, although sufficient for the debt;[2] which they did to cross us,

because he should not be able to pay his debt nor help us to buy any pepper, insomuch that if we gave 15 rials per 10 sacks they would give a rial more until they raised it unto 20 and 21 rials per ten sacks. For their envy is so great towards us that to take out one of our eyes they will lose both their own, as per the writing sent herewith may appear.

The state of Bantam is in ill case, for all the chief merchants are grown to decay. I know not by what means, except it be by sending away all their wealth for China, thinking to run away themselves after. There is owing to the Hollanders above 80,000 rials and they cannot recover one penny this year which is due to them for cloth which they delivered the last year to be paid in pepper, and sold it at such a low rate only to cross us in the sale of our Cormandel cloth. Knowing that we had store of the James's goods and the Globe's, they presently gave out goods to whom would buy; that which [was?] formerly worth 10 rials per corge they sold for 5 rials and 4 rials, and I think they will never be paid for the most part. This they did in policy, thinking that we, seeing such small profit by that sort of goods, we would venture that way no more; which some of them hath not let to speak that they will beat us out of that trade and make us weary of it.

Our merchant Kewee hath formerly dealt very well with our nation and a man of the best credit in all the town. Therefore I was encouraged by the former Captains of the English that I need not fear to trust him; but now this year he is much behindhand with me. But I have hope of payment when the China junks come, because he is not indebted unto none but unto us. In the meantime I shall remain indebted to the King for his custom about some 7,000 rials, which I have not at present money to pay him, but I must entreat his patience until I have money. He was constrained to trust the Hollanders the last year for 18,000 rials, which now they have paid since the coming of their ships; therefore it is not much to trust us for 7,000 rials for four or five months.

The Pengran Protector, here called the Great King, doth us little justice in recovering of our debts. Only he will send for the debtors to the Court and there detain them, where they liveth at their pleasure, giving him now and then a small bribe, without which he will not do justice to any man, nor hear his cause. He

hath divers times given us leave to build,[1] and when I goeth about it he either causeth his workmen to leave work, finding fault it is either sometimes too broad and sometimes too near, other times too high and that we go about to build a castle, and chiefly at presents his pretence is because the King of Jacatray hath given us a plot of ground of 50 fathom square to build on, saying that he will not have us that we build anywhere upon Java but at Bantam; which I have utterly denied to be in that subjection to him, alleging his extreme custom which he hath of us for pepper (his country yielding nothing else), his custom for entrado of cloth (and no sale of any to be made in Bantam except upon trust, never to be paid) his custom for cloves, mace and other spices (which grow not in his country): of all which customs we are granted free at Jacatraye, which doth much torment his mind and [he?] is utter enemy with his brother the King of Jacatray, which doth daily entreat us to build in what fashion we please to our content; which if it be good but for nothing else but to save the custom of all foreign commodities, it will afford a factory and within short time there will be store of pepper. The Hollanders hath their chief house at Jaccatray, where their greatest stock is always remaining; but the cape merchant remaineth at Bantam and sometimes at Jaccatraye, as business requireth.

As for the Thomas and the Concord with the two pinnaces remaining, there are not left above 55 Englishmen for them all, so that I shall be forced to hire blacks to sail them, for as yet I cannot have any grant of Captain Elkington to leave any, she having 116 men of all sorts at least and well provided of all things; and the most part of these that stay in the country is against their wills, for if they might have their wills they would all home in this ship and leave the business here at sixes and sevens. Therefore it were very necessary that those that are to stay in the country, that agreement be made at home with them, for that here those that doth stay against their wills doth allege that they are kept as slaves. Also for those merchants that are to stay in Bantam to be good writers and skilful in accounts, of which we have great want at present, both to remain in Bantam and to send to other factories.

There is laden in this ship in pepper 12,529 sacks, 48 chests

of China silk, wrought and raw, 23 chests of benjamin, a small parcel of diamonds and beazer stones, 41 peculles of cloves, [*blank*] suckelles of mace: all amounting to the sum of [*blank*], as per the invoice may appear; besides 17 suckelles of mace (from No. 1 to No. 17) sent by the King of Macassar to the King's Majesty with a letter, which I have delivered to Mr. Elkington. Also there is 133 churles of indigo, which came from Tecoo out of the Hector. Here is remaining in Bantam about 40 tons of cinnamon of Celand,[1] already garbled, and was to be sent home in the Samaritan; but they nor this ship would not carry it and here it will not yield anything, although the cinnamon be very good. It taketh up here much warehouse room and will not yield here one year's rent. I think it would be a good commodity for Surrat, with divers other goods of China, which are here to be had; I do not think but there would be made about 300 cent. per cent. Also pepper to be sent thither, I hold it not amiss, for if it will not yield good profit there, it would serve to be stowed amongst the indigoes and save so much freight homewards; of which business at the coming of General Keelinge I will acquaint him therewith, for I take it there will be no great danger if they go from hence at time of the year to meet the English fleet there in September or October. And as for the trade of Japon, I see no great hopes of any great profit from thence, except it be for silver to bring for Bantam, for there is no other commodity to be had.

The Attendant is gone for to discover the eastern side of Sumatra and Borneo, where we have good hopes of vent for our Guzarat cloth. As for Bantam there is no commodity that will sell for money at any profit, and to trust we shall be in danger to lose all. By the next I will, God willing, send according to your Worships' order the whole journal and ledger of all the business, which I cannot do now for want of time and some good writer to copy them; which I have begun to copy out by one which have committed many errors; therefore I must either do it myself or some other which doth understand accounts; and therefore I crave pardon at present.

There is not any commodity of our country fitting for Bantam, only some 50 or 60 tons of lead in small bars, and some iron will

sell for 5 and 6 rials the pecull when the China junks cometh, and some small quantity of broadcloth.

I am to entreat your Worships to stand my friends as to pay unto my cousins Ignatius or John Jourdain, merchants, dwelling in Exeter, the sum of 150*l.* for my [ ] to [whom I have written ?] order to receive it, and is to release a mortgage of my father's dwelling-house, which otherwise will fall into strangers' hands. Also I have paid 53 rials of eight here in Bantam for Mr. Hamlden[1] deceased to Mr. Thomas Elkington, Mr. Pringe and John Toucker, which money by consent of Mr. Elkington is to be paid at home 26*l.* odd money,[2] as per the purser's book may appear. Mr. Thomas Simonds is to receive it for the use of a poor brother of mine, which hath pleased God to take his sight from him, hoping of your Worships' favour therein. This 26*l.* is for divers things sold at the mast of Mr. Hamlden's, as per the purser's book, and put to my account for 53 rials delivered here to pay his debts.

Thus, not having else at present, I end, committing you to the Lord's protection, with my daily prayers to God to bless all your proceedings to His glory and honour of our nation. Amen.

Your Worships' servant in all duty to be commanded,

John Jourdain.

Postscript.—There was commodities landed belonging to General Dowton and Mr. Battye which was thought fitting to be rated at a reasonable price for the use of the Worshipful Company; so General Dowton's was valued at 119½ rials and Mr. Battye's at 271 rials, to be paid to their executors, to whom it doth appertain. These commodities is brought to account of the Joint Stock, referring the disposing of the money to your Worships' pleasures. There is some 22 rials laid out of Mr. Bayttye's account, as per the account may appear.

Addressed: To the Honourable Sir Thomas Smith, Knight, Governor, the Deputy, and Committees for the Worshipful Company of Merchants Trading to the East India, give these in London.

Endorsed: John Jourdan from Bantam, [ ] December, 1615. Read in Court 2 September, 1616. Entered.

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William Eaton to Richard Wickham.

Miaco in Japon, the 26th of December 1615.

MOST loving and kind friend Mr. Wickham, I commend me unto you, with desire of your good health as my own etc. You shall understand that Captain Coppendall departed from Ossakey the 20th ultimo and arrived at Firando the 28th of the same month, as I understand by a letter received yesterday from him, which was dated in Firando the 3rd present, by which his letter I understand that the chest which was for your woman [1] (the which I delivered unto him with all things therein according to your order) was not to be found in the barque at his coming to Firando, nor no news there is of it as yet; only he is in good hope that it was left behind at Ossakey, for that the master of the barque did stiffly deny that it was never put aboard of him; so as without doubt it was left behind at Ossakey, the which I will seek after (God willing) at my going thither, which will be some three or four days hence. If it be there I will send it to Firando by the first conveyance, although I make account it will not be delivered to your woman before your coming thither, for that, as Captain Coppindall writes me, she hath used mirth with meretrix, as the common report is.

He hath him commended unto you and would have written you as much but that he made account you were come away from hence before this time. I have likewise expected your coming hither long, for that Captain Adames told me that you would be here some 20 days after him, which was the cause I have not written you before now. I have sent you here enclosed two letters which Captain Coppendall left with me to deliver unto you at your coming hither, but in regard of your staying so long I thought good to send them you now by this conveyance. I make account he hath written you of the unkind dealing of Captain Adames, who went his ways and left Captain Coppendall behind him and would not so much as stay one day for him, which was an unkind part; but for all his haste he was not at Firando twenty hours before Captain Coppendall, he being newly gone to Langasaque

about the releasement of Damian and the other, whom are now at liberty in spite of the Portingales.

I received never a letter from Captain Cock nor from any other since the 18th of November, the which I wonder at. I have written to Captain Cock to send me some more pepper and wax, for that I had here is sold. The smaller sort of pepper I sold for 6 tayes the pecull, and the greater sort for 7 tayes; wax for 14 tayes the pecull. I have likewise sold some 20 pieces of alleiawes for 17 mas apiece and some 40 pieces of baftas at 11 mas apiece. As for the other sorts of goods I cannot sell anything as yet, neither do I know when I shall.

I make account Captain Adames is departed from Firando on his voyage for Syam before this time, he being ready to depart when Captain Coppendall wrote his letter. God send him a prosperous voyage etc. Our ship will not be ready to depart before February.

I pray you commend me to Captain Adames' wife and Madalena, to Michaell and to all the rest of our good friends. And so in haste I end, praying to the Almighty God for your good health and prosperity, the which [in His ?] mercy long to continue, if it be His good will and pleasure.

Your loving friend to command,

William Eaton.

Addressed: To his loving friend Mr. Richard Wickham, merchant, this dd. in Osekey.

APPENDIX.

I.

Thomas Elkington to [John Oxwick and Christopher Farewell at Broach].[1]

Laus Deo in Surrat, the 23rd December, 1614.

LOVING Friends, Your healths desired, with continuance thereof, &c. My last to you was of the 16th present;[2] since which have received yours of the 18th present[3] by a peon of purpose, and therewith a piece [of] duttie for a muster, with a letter for our General, which the 19th last, so soon as yours came unto my hands, I sent away, but the party by whom I sent them came just as our General was setting sail for the bar of Suratt; and being forth, the wind scanting upon him, could not set him ashore at Swally again, but was forced to carry him to the bar, where he could not land him till yesterday, which hath been the cause I have kept him so long, whereby to send you our General his answer, the which you shall receive herewith. Also I have received yours of the 21st December.[4]

In your former you write you intended, for such calicoes as you were to buy coloured, to buy them brown[5] and to put them to dyeing yourself. In your latter you advise you had begun the same. The course, if you find the same to be to more advantage, and withal may be certainly assured to have them here by the time limited, will do very well; but withal I would wish you seriously to consider of the shortness of the time we have left, as also whether the colours thus huddled up in haste (as I make account these must be) will be as well done as those which have had more time; as also it may be doubted whether the workmen

will do their parts for a Christian as they would do for one of their own people, but rather do it in that fashion to discourage others for attempting the like hereafter; in which you may very well be abused, and no way to help yourself, whereas buying them ready dyed you may assure yourself of them to serve your turn, and what colours shall not be to liking you may refuse, whereas the other way you are tied to take them as they shall fall forth. As aforesaid, having considered well hereof, to proceed in what shall be fittest, and having so [ ] them, you must have an extraordinary care to the well-packing of them, without which the moistness of the hold will utterly spoil them, or the most part, between this and England, as heretofore they have had experience.

Your indigo bought I perceive was not as then come, but expected within a short time after, and that you should have want of money for the effecting of that and other business you have entered into, much wondering that you have not hitherto charged me with what moneys you there find, having long since written you to do the same whensoever you would and your bills should be here paid, and so to have taken what you find to serve the present turn. Though you gave 1¼ per cent., which is very dear, yet I think it were a better course so to do than to run the danger of the way; and should any of you come or any of us go (which I hold most fittest and to be done with least suspicion) it is not to be done without charge and 100*l.* would be the most that I should think fitting to adventure at one time, if we shall be forced thereunto, which I had well hoped we should not have done, having been borne in hand by our Sarafes[1] to pay money there and to receive it here of us again after one per cent., their course they purposed being to [pass ?] their money thither by 1,000 ma. at a time and so to [receive ?] it here again and then after [write the parties ?] to deliver you the like sum with [ ] of; but [coming ?] to conclude with them they [withdrew ?] their words, [so ?] there is no remedy for your present business but to [raise ?] what money you can, and as you can send it shall be here paid in mamudos upon sight of your bill, and in the [mean ?] time we will here procure all means possible to [send ?] what we can and so would wish you to seek

what you can there take [up ?]; and when not to be done in that fashion some course shall be taken for sending it unto you, and, as I formerly writ, [I] think it will be with less danger by some of our friends from [here ?] than that you should come, whereof on your answer of this we will resolve.

I perceive that you find little employment there for Esay But; being so and that you shall have no other need of him, in my opinion it were best he came away to go aboard of the ships, where will be some use of him. We are now landing of our lead; God grant we may find sales for it. Our ships are all at the Bar by the Nabab's request. [Other ?] news we have not any to advise you of; and so commit you to [God's] holy protection, resting

Your loving friend,

Thomas Elkington.

By this bearer you shall receive two quire paper, being half of what is left in the house.

I thought to have sent you two quire, but find our store so short that I can spare you but one.

T. E.

II.

James I. to the Great Mogul, the 7th February, 1614.[1]

JAMES, by the Grace of Almighty God, the Creator of Heaven and Earth, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Christian Faith, to the High and Mighty Monarch the Great Magoll, King of the Oriental Indies, Candahay, Chismer,[2] and Corasan &c., Greeting.

We cannot but take notice from the report of our loving subjects the Company of Merchants and other of our City of London trading into the East Indies and the places adjoining thereunto, of the good reception which our said subjects have had by your express order and commandment within your dominions and parts of Amadavar and Suratt, and of your willingness to afford them protection and safety for the setting of an intercourse

of commerce and traffic betwixt your subjects and them, according to certain Articles agreed upon and subscribed betwixt them, which as for our part We do by these our royal letters allow and confirm, so we make no doubt but that the effects thereof, and of whatsoever else may be further thought convenient and necessary for the strengthening and enlarging of that correspondency, will redound to the honour and utility of both nations. In which considerations and for the furthering of such laudable endeavours of our subjects, We are induced again to recommend them to your royal protection, to the end that in their peaceable course of trade (which is the main object of their adventuring so far abroad) they be not wronged either out of envy or unjust pretensions of others that do seek to hinder or disturb their trade, as of late they have been assaulted by the Portingalls in your ports of Swally and Suratt, where though they have given a good account of their power and ability to defend themselves against any such unjust assault, yet it will be much available [availing ?] unto them, if they may be cherished and supported by the continuance of your favourable assistance and protection in those parts. And so we commit you to the merciful protection of Almighty God.

From our Palace of Westminster the 7th of February, 1613 [1614], and in the Eleventh Year of Our Reign of Great Britain, France, and Ireland.

Directed: To the High and Mighty Monarch the Great Magoll, King of Oriental Indies, Candahay, Chismer, and Corasan, &c.

III.

The Great Mogul to James I. [March 1615].[1]

UNTO a King rightly descended from his ancestors, bred in military affairs, and clothed with honour and justice, a commander worthy of all command, strong and constant in the religion which the great Prophet Christ did teach, King James, whose love hath bred such impression in my thoughts as shall never be forgotten, but as

the smell of amber or as a garden of fragrant flowers whose beauty and odour is still increasing, so be assured my love shall grow and increase with yours.

Your letter which you sent me in the behalf of your merchants I have received, whereby I r st satisfied in your tender love towards me, and desire you not to take it ill for not having writ unto you heretofore;[1] for this present letter I send to renew our loves, and herewith do certify you that I have sent forth my firmaunds through all my country[2] to this effect: that if any English ships or merchants shall arrive in any of my ports my people shall permit and suffer them to do what they will freely in their merchandising causes, aiding and assisting them in all occasion of injuries that shall be offered them, and that the least cause of discourtesy be not done unto them, as also that they be as free and freer than mine own people.

And as now and formerly I have received from you divers tokens of your love, so I desire your mindfulness of me by some novelties from your country as an argument of friendship between us, for such is the custom of Princes here.

And for your merchants I have given express order through all my countries[3] to suffer them to sell, buy, transport and carry away at their pleasure, without the let or hindrance of any person whatsoever, all such goods and merchandise or other things as they shall desire to buy. And let this my letter as fully satisfy you in the desired peace and love as if my own son had been the messenger to ratify the same.

And if any in my country, not fearing God nor obeying their King, or any other void of religion, should endeavour or be an instrument to break this league of friendship, I will[4] send my son Sultan Corome,[5] a soldier approved in the wars, to cut him off; that no obstacle may hinder the continuance and increasing of our affections.

IV.

George Ball to John Jourdain at Bantam.[1]

In Macasser, the 24th June 1615.

CAPTAINE JOURDINE, hearty commendations acknowledged etc. Leaving this place the 18th February last past, as appears by my letters left with Mr. Chancye to be sent you, I set forward on my voyage as was pretended. And not far from Macassar, passing along the coast I met with a Spanish frigate and by occasions by them given us contrary to intent took her; the people escaped aland.[2] I had in her some few cloves, the rest of her cargazon being jars of pickled nutmegs and mangoes. The hull of her I left at Sampulana in the country of Bottone in the charge of two Orankais to be delivered to Mr. Welden, with a letter to him for her dispose. From thence departing the 1st March I was fair with Amboyna the 10th ditto, but put not in, fearing the recovery of Banda, the monsoon being far spent; but meeting a Java junk in the offing, I sent in word by them to the Orankaies of Luha and Cambella that having despatched at Banda I would be with them. At Banda I arrived the 14th March in the devil's mouth or worse among the Flemings, where I was not only discommanded by the General to land on any island of Banda, Nero only excepted, whereon stands their castle, but kept back by their boats whensoever I attempted to land elsewhere. By which means I was kept from conference with the Bandanesses and consequently trade, and whensoever I removed thence, having small reason thus used to stay, I had to waft my ship and pinnace two ships of the Flemings. But coming to sea we gave them a slip for sixpence;[3] and recovering Polaway landed goods, hauled the pinnace adry and entered trade with them, putting in hazard how the Flemings would deal with us if they there landed with their forces, as it was said they would. With our ship, there being no roadstead about all the islands of Banda but that under the command of the Dutch castle, whither I had no thought to return, I went to Gulagula,[4] there to spend the westerly monsoon and with the first of the easterly to go for Luha and Cambella to sound the hearts

of the people in the way of trade, while the Flemings were busy in their wars of Banda. The 22nd April in my return from Gula-gula I touched at Pulaway and took in such spices as they had provided, being 27 sucles mace, and so proceed [ed ?] as I had intended for Luga and Cambella. Entering the straits of Amboyna I had news of an English ship that had been there but was departed for Banda in quest of us, but landing at Hitto I understood what she was and who was in her, which was, as I then conceited it, a comfort to my troubles. There I had conference with the Captain of Hitto, the effect of whose speeches I omit to relate, misdoubting interception. But, having done with him as much as time would permit, I went over for Luha and by the way met with the Thomasine, with whose presence I was over-joyed, though after as much grieved. To be short [we ?] joined companies and together we went for Luha, where, notwithstanding the lets of the Flemings, we had such respondency with the Orankaie that we were received as neighbours with the Flemings as well at Cambella as Luha. But we did not long enjoy our factories, being beaten out by the force of the Flemings; the manner how you shall receive with my return, being at present hindered with unexpected troubles. I had once in mind to go for the Molluccoes, but it was by council otherwise determined and thought best to return; and so the 3rd of this present month I parted with the Thomasine, she going for Tymore and I for Macasser. By the way I touched at Botone and took in Mr. Welden, who is resolved for England. And arriving here at Macasser the 23rd of this present I find our people to be run away, all but one lame man[1] who, more honester than the rest, stayed, and the estate of the Company here left here in all carelessness, the which, what it is, we are commanded by the King to take away, with an absolute discharge from our factory. What to do in this case I am yet unresolved. I have laboured as much as in me is for the continuance of our factory with the King and Council; but my labour is yet fruitless and in a word altogether hopeless, seeing no way but that we must remove; and going, whether it be best to take in the goods of the Company or to leave them as I found them, I am in the division of doubts. The cause of the loss of this

factory, for ought I can learn to the contrary, hath been partly the seducements of the Flemings, but chief the unconstant temper of an unsound brain in Mr. Chancy, who continually drunk with the Flemings, forsook the protection of the King and joined his forces with the Flemings, first against the Spaniards, and after against the King, in massacring one of his younger brothers with seven more of his subjects, and the carrying away prisoner Inchroochin, and Bamacacha, the one his protector, the other his near kinsman and above others beloved.[1] The like dishonour never befell our nation in the East Indies; besides the loss of this place, which upon the occasion of the battle betwixt the Spaniards and the Flemings, we might have had solely to ourselves, had Mr. Chancy been otherwise than a beast, whereas now all Christians are banished. For the upholding of other our factories, I mean from hence to go for Sacadana to relieve them there, with those of Beniermasine, Francis Kelly having failed to do it; and, if time serve, to touch at Japara to be farther possessed of the news, for I am informed the factories Botone, Gressee, and this place being already removed, the Flemings' next exploit is to join forces with the King of Matram against him of Bantam, and to establish another government.[2] Rely upon this as certain; take counsel; arm yourselves for it, working the best assurance you can for our factory there, that the Horseturds give it not the lift, for they are our enemies to the utter ruin of our trade, so far as their power will give them leave. I met here with letters from Sophony,[3] and goods sent in a junk, but himself with the pinnace there remaining to make a voyage. The Flemings had taken Pulaway, but were forced to leave it with loss and shame, 300 of their best soldiers being slain and wounded. They endamaged us nothing at their being there, but abused our master of the pinnace very shamefully,[4] as at my coming I will impart unto you. Time will not permit to enlarge, but concluding I do entreat you again to look to yourselves, and be provided against the Flemings, that they raze not our Bantam factory, for they will be there shortly with all their forces to bring in a new government; three months will be the farthest. Respect my writing not as fabulous, but be confidently persuaded it is the resolution of the Flemings. God

send us better fortune. Commend me to yourself and all other our friends with you; and [so?] I take my leave.

George Bale.

P.S.—If these two prisoners formerly mentioned in my letter be to be recovered, do the best you can to get them into your hands, until you can conveniently send them hither. Use them kindly. Vale.

V.

Richard Wickham to Sir Tho. Smythe, the 23rd October, 1615.[1]

RIGHT Worshipful, my humble duty remembered, etc. My last letters sent per Mr. Edward Dodswoorth in the Hector I understand you have received, per the copy of a letter directed unto me from your Worship brought in the Hosiander by Captain Coppindale, wherein I heartily rejoiced to hear of your good health, which I daily beseech the Almighty to continue. Since which time we have been much grieved that some businesses in this place hath had such bad success.

For first, being by general consent thought fitting for the benefit of the Honourable Company to procure a trade in Cochin China, Mr. Tempest Peacocke was sent thither with a cargazon of seven hundred pound sterling, assisted by Walter Carwarden, where Mr. Peacocke in company with certain Hollanders (sent the same year from this place by their principal) were all of them betrayed and murdered in the way as they were going up the river of Quinam[2] to the city to receive moneys for such goods as before they had made sale of unto the King; but Walter Carwarden remaining in the junk was afterwards by a storm cast away upon some island near adjoining.

Next after this misfortune, a junk being bought according to General Saris his direction and commission, for to make a voyage for the employment of part of our stock for Siam, and departing from Firando in the month of December 1614, myself being sent in the room of Mr. Peacocke for factor, with

a cargazon of 1,400*l.* sterling, assisted by Edmund Sawyer,[1] Mr. William Adams captain and master, and manned with fifty-eight Japanese mariners, were within two days after our departure from the foresaid port like to have sunk in the sea by reason of the leakiness of the junk, meeting with a little foul weather, had not God in His mercy saved us by bringing us to the islands of the Lequeos, whither we bore up and arrived in three days after in safety, praised be God, yet not without damage and hurt by wetting most of our India cloth. In the principal of these islands, the Gran Luequeo, we wintered in the harbour of Nauffa,[2] where I sold some part of our India cloth which was there requested. And finding little employment at the present for to benefit our lost voyage, only [lading?] wheat and a small quantity of ambergris, the monsoon serving in May following to go for Japon; at which time we departed and the 20th of June returned again for Firando in Japon, where it pleased God we came in safety, with the loss only of the voyage for that year.

The inhabitants of these islands are descended from the race of the Chinese, wearing their hair long but tied up on the right side of the head; a peaceable and quiet people, but of late years conquered by Ximos Dono, King of Satchma,[3] so that now they are governed by the Japon laws and customs, by which means they have lost their trade and privileges in China. This country aboundeth with rice, wheat and all sorts of grain, cowhides, [ ], commodities vendible in Japon, with some quantity of the best ambergris that the world affordeth, and the whitest. There is yearly sale for 3,000 pieces of India cloth, some quantity of red wood of Siam, with other commodities of Japan there requested. At Captain Coppindale his coming up to deliver a present to the Emperor in Surunguna,[4] I moved Captain Adams to procure the Emperor his letter that our nation might have trade there, which he hath granted and directed to the King of Satchma (unto whom the islands belongeth) that he should give order that we may settle a factory there and have the same privileges that we have in any the Emperor his dominions in Japon; and I doubt not but the next spring to see it effected.

Here we have sold all our English broadcloth, although but at mean rates, by reason of the great quantity that the Hollanders

yearly bring hither of all colours and prices, much exceeding ours in goodness, at leastwise in dressing and setting forth to the show, being all low-shorn light cloth, and pleasant to the eye. And at several times comparing their cloth with ours I find their cloth generally to cost them less than ours, yet, as I have said, better cloth and better requested. The Hollanders go beyond all, not only us but all strangers here of late, by reason of the great quantities of raw silk, tafities, satins, velvets and China wares which they steal from the Chinese, having of late robbed many junks, whereby they sell at such rates that none that cometh truly by their goods can make profit here; besides their great employment which they have by reason of their Molluccos for all kind of provisions that they sell and turn all into ready money for the same purpose, their stealing trade supplying them yearly when other fails.

There is great supplies come this year unto the Phillipinas, both of men with above a million of plate, for the payment of soldiers whom (*sic*) in December next and to show their valour upon the Hollanders in the Molluccos, with express order from his Catholic Majesty that Don Jno. de Silva, the Governor, go in person with all the force he can possibly make or procure from India by the Portingals to hazard all the Phillippinas and power which he had in these parts but to ruin the Molluccos this year and return with victory or else never to look his Majesty in the face again. So that in June last he had ready 3,000 soldiers, 13 great and small galleons, the least carrying 25 pieces brass ordnance, some 30, and some above, [?] 12 galleys and galliots with 5 frigates and caravels; there being promised by the Portingals from India 5 galleons and 10 frigates; so that without doubt there will be much to do between the Hollanders and the Spaniards this year in the Molluccos.

In the month of July last there came a ship from Nueva Espania or Acapulco in the South Seas, which hath brought broadcloth, kerseys, rashes and perpetuanas of all colours, with three friars which say they are come as ambassadors from the King of Spaine with a present for the Emperor. By some of these Spaniards I have understood of certain English ships or Hollanders which have done great spoil in the South Seas the

last year, having first trimmed their ships on the coast of Chily and then come and made spoil in Peru all the coast over, passing here and there, not staying long in a place, thereby defeating the Spaniards, who hath made out two or three fleets to meet with them but either cannot or dare not. Amongst the rest one Sebastian Biscayno is General of a fleet set out from Acapulco and the ports adjoining upon Nova Espania.

Here in Japon the Emperor hath banished and put forth all the Jesuits and friars and pulled down all their churches, causing a great persecution against the Japon Christians which stood out or denied to renounce the faith; all which hath risen from a dislike that the Emperor hath taken against the subtle practices and covetous dealings especially of the Jesuits and others of religious order, so that it is supposed that they shall never in his or in his children's days be ever admitted again into Japon. The Jesuits say that we have been the cause thereof, saying that they never were in disgrace until we came hither; and therein in some sort they say not amiss, for the same year we came in they were put out. Yet their consciences know a more efficient cause than the English (yet upon demand, as occasions offered, we have done the Jesuits little credit here); their own proceedings in such subtle and cunning manner from time to time against the Emperor and state of Japon having more scandalled him than anything else.

This last year's wars which the Emperor hath had against the Prince Fidayora Sama,[1] the son of Quambacon Dono or Tsycho Sama (the late deceased Emperor), hath much hindered our business or sales for this year, with many other troubles to recover such moneys and goods which we were enforced to leave in the hands of divers merchants; so that we have had but a bad beginning. I pray God send a better success hereafter. Yet the Emperor offereth us all friendship and privilege his country affordeth, showing us more favour than any nation in these parts.

Concerning all particulars of trade I have by this conveyance in the Hosiander largely advised the Agent at Bantam.

Amongst many favours received, which I shall never cease to acknowledge unto your Worship, if it shall please the

Honourable Company to allow me better salary in regard so small a portion is allowed to be paid here, I humbly entreat your Worship that 20*l.* per year you will cause to be paid unto my mother, a poor widow, if living, dwelling in Wiltshire in the Vise;[1] the rest to remain in hands of your Worship for to dispose of for me as it shall seem good unto you.

Thus now and ever depending upon your continual favours, which I no way shall ever merit, yet what either my humble duty or weak service can affect you may ever please to command them, ever acknowledging myself much obliged, etc.,

Your Worship's servant ever to command,

Richard Wickham.

Edoe, the 23rd October 1615.

To the Honourable Gentleman Sir Thomas Smyth, Knight, etc.

VI.

Sophony Cozuck to the East India Company,
Bantam, December 21, 1615 (fragment).[2]

. . . . here and three other men, amongst whom there was the banished King of Mackassar. They told the Master that if so be that he would [not?] go as willingly as any of them, or seem to slack his pace, that there was two Japonezas appointed to strike off his head. Thus the master and the King were coupled together, and [with?] the rest were carried about the island to shew them the country houses; and if so be that the Bandanezas sallied out upon them, they set them in the face of the shot and themselves withdrew further back. At last, when they came near the castle the Bandanezas gave them an assault and made them to take the water, and so got themselves into their boats, and there bound the master hand and foot and carried him that fashion before the General. The council was called upon it, but at last he was released by the General, and they brought him three parts of the way and

thrust him overboard; so by swimming he got ashore. And coming daily to the house and called us all to nought, drawing their weapons at us in the house. Thus for the space of forty-eight hours we lived a hellish life amongst them; and it will be no otherwise unless your Worships send such shipping as are able to make our party good with them. Otherwise we shall be still beaten away from every port, as hitherto we were. But to proceed: after this broils as said, we began to trade again as we did before, where I remained until the 14th of September, having settled a factory with the remainder of [the?] goods in the charge of Richard Hunt, factor, amounting to the sum of 2,832 rials 41 medinas, having laded the pinnace with nutmegs and mace; and have brought with me a messenger, one of the Orankayes, and five followers with him, with a letter from the rest of the Orankayas, the translation of which letter I have translated it verbatim and have delivered it to Captain Jordaine to be sent unto your Worships.[1] And within a short time after the Gift's departure, the Concord and the Thomas shall be ready to go thither. God of His mercy send us good success; but without doubt we are like to undergo many troubles with these Hollanders. Thus praying the Almighty to bless your Worships with health and all happiness, I rest

Your Worships' humble servant to command,

Sophony Cozucke.

From Bantam, this 21st of December, 1615.

Addressed: To the Right Worshipful Governor and Company of Merchants Trading into the East Indies these be delivered.

Endorsed: Sophonye Cozucke, Bantam, 21st December, 1615. Read in Court, 28th January, 1616 [1617].

NOTES.

Page 1.

[1] Thomas Elkington, several of whose letters have been given in the preceding volume, was cape merchant and captain of the *Solomon* in Downton's fleet. Extracts from his journal will be found in *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, vol. i., p. 514. Downton praised his ability and behaviour (see p. 27), and the Company seem to have had confidence in him, since they appointed him, prior to his departure, to be principal factor at Bantam. Upon the decease of Captain Downton, however, Elkington succeeded to the post of General, and at the close of the year sailed for England in command of the *New Year's Gift*. He seems to have died some time before October, 1618.

An abstract of this letter is contained in O.C., No. 187 (see vol. ii., p. 192). The account of the voyage out here given may be compared with Downton's (vol. ii., p. 167), Sandcroft's (*ibid.*, p. 212), and Preston's (*ibid.*, p. 254); also with the narratives in *Purchas* and Dodsworth's MS. journal in the I. O. Records.

[2] *Saldania Bay.*—The modern Table Bay.

Page 2.

[1] *The Saldanian brought home by Captain Towerson.*—This native, generally called Coree, has been several times mentioned in the preceding volume. He was kidnapped (together with another, who died at sea) by Gabriel Towerson when at the Cape on his homeward voyage in 1613. Terry, who tells the story at some length (*Voyage to East India*, 1777 ed., pp. 19, 20), says that, after reaching England, Coree was "kept for the space of six months in Sir Thomas Smith's house (then Governor "of the East India Company), where he had good diet, good cloaths, good lodging, "with all other fitting accommodations," and "had to his good entertainment made "for him a chain of bright brass, an armour, breast, back and head piece, with a "buckler, all of brass, his beloved metal; yet all this contented him not, for never "any seemed to be more weary of ill-usage than he was of courtesies: none ever "more desirous to return home to his country than he; for when he had learned a "little of our language he would daily lie upon the ground, and cry very often thus "in broken English: *Coree home go, Souldania go, home go.* And not long after, "when he had his desire and was returned home, he had no sooner set footing on "his own shore but presently he threw away his cloaths, his linen, with all other "covering, and got his sheep's-skins upon his back, guts about his neck and such a "perfum'd cap as before we named [*of grease and filth*] upon his head; by whom "that proverb mentioned 2 Peter, 2, v. 22, was literally fulfilled: *canis ad vomitum.*"

He had been sent back by the first fleet that sailed after his arrival (Downton's ships of 1614), and it was hoped that, having been treated with kindness during his

stay in England, he would promote good feeling between the natives and the English and assist in providing victuals for any ships touching at the Cape. But such was his fear of being again kidnapped that he would not go near Downton's vessels after he had once got on shore; and the other natives were very circumspect when the time of departure grew near, lest a similar fate should befall them. This fear, however, speedily wore off, and when the 1615 fleet arrived "Corey came down "and welcomed us after his manner, by whose means the people were nothing so "fearful as at other times, nor so thievish. They brought us cattle in great "abundance, which we bought for copper shreds. Corey shewed some of our "people his house, wife and children, at a town thence distant five English miles, "containing about one hundred houses. Most of them can say: *Sir Thomas Smith*, "*English ships*, which they often with great glory repeat. Their wives and children "came often down to us, to whom we gave great content with bugles and the like. "And two or three desired to go for England, seeing Corey had sped so well and "returned so rich with his copper suit, which he yet keepeth in his house very "charily. Corey also determined to return, and to carry one of his sons, when our "ships are thence bound homewards" (Peyton in *Purchas*, vol. i., p. 528). This intention, however, was never carried out. Terry saw and conversed with Coree in 1616, on the outward voyage of Joseph's fleet.

[2] *Ships at Table Bay*.—The dates given for the arrival and departure of the *Concord* differ from those (21st May and 7th June) mentioned by Sandcroft at p. 212 of the preceding volume; Blitheman (*ibid.*, p. 330) states that the *Concord* arrived the 9th May, but does not say when she left; Edwards (*ibid.*, p. 148) makes the date of arrival 9th May, and of departure the 28th ditto; Samuel Boyle (letter in *Java* III., Pt. I) gives May 9th and June 6th. Dodsworth's MS. narrative (I. O. Records: *Marine*, XIX.) agrees with the text.

[3] See vol. ii., p. 255.

[4] *Jollywatt*.—It has been suggested in the *Bombay Gazetteer* (vol. xiii., p. 717) that the term *jolly-boat* is derived from *galivat*, the native name for large row-boats much in use on the west coast of India; and this etymology has been adopted by Sir Henry Yule (*Hobson-Jobson*) and Admiral Smyth (*Sailor's Wordbook*). But *jollyvatt* as an English word is at least as old as 1495–97 (see Oppenheim's *Naval Accounts and Inventories*, Navy Records Society, vol. viii., p. 193, etc.), and there seems to be every probability that it is simply a corruption of *galliot*, a small galley. If there be any direct relation between the English and the Indian term, it is more likely that the latter was derived from the former than the former from the latter.

Page 3.

[1] *St. Laurance*.—Madagascar, which was styled by the Portuguese the island of San Lorenzo. This name was given to it by d'Abreu because he fell in with it on St. Lawrence's day (10th August 1506). It is said, however, to have been previously sighted by Soares on the 1st February of the same year. The bay of St. Augustine is on the S.W. of the island, in lat. 23° 28′ S.

[2] *Cape Bona Spe*, *i.e.*, Bonae Spei (Good Hope).

[3] *Silver Chains*.—See vol. ii., pp. 167, 212, 255. Dodsworth's journal says the natives "brought down some ten beeves, but would not sell them except for small "silver chains, of which the purser was not provided of. Spanish money they "would not take; only at his parting sold one of their kine for six shillings sterling,

" which they much more esteem than Spanish coin. The purser, at his return " aboard, acquainted us with their desire of silver chains for their cattle, which " could not be procured, but only two or three which we had of boatswains, which " were to hang their whistles in, with the value of 14*s*. sterling. In those chains " he bought the next day five of their best cattle, well worth in England 5*l*. the " beeve; also nine more for 6*s*. sterling apiece."

[4] The Comoro group, lying between the northern part of Madagascar and the mainland.

Page 4.

[1] *Want of weights and scales.*—Cp. p. 256 of the preceding volume.

In the fragmentary journal, kept on board the *Gift*, which forms No. XXI. of the *I. O. Marine Records*, it is stated that the gross weight of aloes bought was "2,832 " Rottelles, which is $28\frac{32}{100}$ kintalles . . . . and the kintalle or 100 Rottelles "make 98 lbs. English weight;" but this included the weight of the baskets, and the net weight was $27\frac{11}{50}$ kintalls.

[2] *Tadie.*—*Tárí* (Anglicised into toddy), the sweet drink derived from the sap of various species of palm-trees. Fermented and distilled, it yields the spirit known as arrack.

[3] Thomas Aldworth, the first English agent at Surat, came of a Bristol family, and had himself once been sheriff of that city. His career in India has been sufficiently narrated in the introductions to this and the preceding volume.

[4] See vol. ii., p. 130.

[5] William Biddulph was another of the factors of Best's fleet. Keeling placed him in charge of the factory at the Mogul court, and he was consequently with Sir Thomas Roe during nearly the whole of the latter's stay in India. He returned to England in 1623.

[6] Thomas Kerridge has been frequently mentioned in the preceding volumes as having succeeded Canning in the post of English representative at the Mogul court. Some time after the arrival of Edwards, Kerridge moved down to Ahmadábád, and his letters from that city, and later from Surat, are now in the British Museum (*Addl. MS.* 9366). Shortly before Keeling's fleet sailed, Kerridge was appointed (February 18, 1616) to succeed Aldworth as agent at Surat. He was back in England by June 1622, but in 1624 resumed his post in India and held it until 1628. After his final return to England he took an active part in the direction of the Company until 1648; and his name occurs again in 1654–55. After that we lose all trace of him.

[7] Nicholas Withington went out to India in 1612, apparently as an attendant upon General Best. He had previously been in Morocco (*Egerton MS.* 2086). Factors being scarce, he was at Surat taken into the Company's service and articled for seven years (vol. i., pp. 238 and 299). In December, 1613, he was despatched to Láríbandar in Sind, but was robbed near Tatta, and finally returned to Surat in a piteous plight. He was next sent up to Agra (May 1614), and there, upon the outbreak of hostilities between the natives and the Portuguese, his goods were seized by the governor, who would not restore them until a special order was obtained from court. The shock, added to other troubles, upset his reason for a time, but later we hear of his recovery. He appears to have returned to England in 1617, and to have had a long wrangle with the Company. He was dead by April, 1624, when his executor carried the dispute to Parliament, with what result is not known.

Extracts from an interesting "tractate" by Withington on his Indian travels will be found in *Purchas*, vol. i., p. 482.

In the Index to the *Calendar of State Papers* (*E. Indies*), 1513–1616, he is described as "afterwards Sir Nicholas." This is, of course, a mistake, due to the common practice (derived from the Levant) of addressing a factor as Signor (abbreviated to Sr.). Instances of this will be found in vol. ii., pp. 138, 158, 181.

Page 5.

[1] The *farmán* sent down by the Great Mogul in January, 1613, confirming the agreement between Captain Best and the native officials.

[2] *Magrobocan.*—Mukarrab Khán, who, being viceroy of Gujárát at the time of the arrival of the English in India, has figured largely in the two preceding volumes, was originally a surgeon of the name of Hassú. As a reward for his professional services, Jahángír gave him the title by which he is generally known ("Lord of my health," as Terry reads it) and advanced him to high office.

Nicholas Withington, in a long letter from Ahmadábád (Nov. 9, 1613), which has found its way to the British Museum (*Egerton MS.* 2086, f. 10) ascribes Mukarrab Khán's hostility to Sir Henry Middleton to his anxiety to stand well at Goa, whither he was then going by order of Jahángír to obtain the restitution of money paid for a stone which the king had bought of the Portuguese and had afterwards discovered to be false. Mukarrab Khán, he says, was warned by his friends "what respectless and "mad fellows the Portingals were, who would not care to rub bacon in his mouth, "if he went amongst them, especially upon such business. Whereupon he fearful "sent for the Portingal father (which was one John Burgess) at that time resident "in Surat (a man more fitter for matters of state than to say mass) and acquainted "him with his fear, who soon removed all doubt from him, and withal added: "'But why let you those English remain here? You shall see shortly they'll take your "city. They are not merchants, but thieves and robbers, and come only to betray "you.' Whereupon Mocrobacann, not daring but to give the Portingals all content, "having many ships abroad, caused it to be proclaimed that no man should trade "more with the English, commanding those English that were in the town presently "aboard and tell their General he might depart when he would, for he should have "no more trade here. It is likely this was the cause Sir Henry Middleton writ his "people were violently thrust out of the country. After this Mocrobacann proceeded on his journey for Goa, where (as the Portingals say and swear) he "according to his desire was christened, saying he felt his conscience very light and "jocund after his baptism." This latter incident is no doubt a myth; but Mukarrab Khán's mission to Goa at this time is historical, and is mentioned both by Bocarro (who accepts the story of his baptism, *Decada XIII.*, pt. i., ch. 81), and by Jahángír in his Memoirs (Elliot and Dowson's *History of India*, vol. vi., p. 331). In the latter work the editors, unaware of the real facts, have proposed to read "Gogo" for "Goa."

Mukarrab Khán was superseded first by Abdala Khán and then (after a short period of re-appointment) by Prince Khurram (Sháh Jahán). He was thereupon compensated with the governorship of Bahar, whence, three years later, he was transferred to that of Agra. At the commencement of the next reign he was pensioned, and died some years later at the age of ninety.

[3] Little is known of Edwards' career. His arrival at Surat as cape merchant of Downton's fleet and his subsequent deputation to the court have been narrated in the last volume. He remained at Ajmere until Roe's arrival, and then went home. There is no further record of him.

[4] The Rev. Peter Rogers, "a preacher at Deptford, esteemed an honest man and "a good teacher, but no great scholar," was engaged at a salary of 50*l.* per annum on the 27th January, 1614, to go to Surat in Downton's fleet. One reason for his willingness to go to India was probably his desire to get away from "his "once beloved wife, who has forsaken him and is living in a most lascivious and "riotous manner" (*Court Minutes*, March 22, 1614). He went up with Edwards to Ajmere, and a letter from him, dated thence, is given on p. 72. He returned to England early in 1616, carrying with him letters from Tom Coryat, in one of which, addressed to the "Right Worshipful Fraternity of Sireniacal "Gentlemen that meet the first Friday in every month at the sign of the "Mermaid," the bearer was commended to the hospitality of the club (*Purchas*, vol. i., p. 595).

[5] Thomas Mitford came out in Downton's fleet and was sent to court with Edwards. In the autumn of 1615 he quarrelled with the latter at a consultation and stabbed him; but the wound was a slight one and no serious notice was taken of the affair. Mitford went home in March, 1617, and in the following year a gratuity was given to him by the Company for his services.

Page 6.

[1] Nicholas (not William) Ufflett went out to India, apparently, as an attendant upon Captain William Hawkins. He was with the latter during the whole of his stay at Agra, and they returned to England together. Ufflett then went out again with Downton's fleet, and was sent up to Ajmere with Edwards. In 1617 we find him at Jacatra, and two years later he died on board one of the vessels of Sir Thomas Dale's fleet. Purchas (*Pilgrimes*, vol. i., p. 439) conjectures that he was the author of "a written book entitled *A Discourse of Agra and the four principal ways "to it.*"

[2] Edward Dodsworth is first mentioned as a purser in Saris's fleet. He went out again with Downton in 1614, returning in charge of the *Hope*, in the following year. His MS. journal, now in the India Office (*Marine Records*, XIX.) has been partly printed in *Purchas* (vol. i., p. 516). Farewell in his *East India Collation* (see p. 303) says that Dodsworth was "more bred a gentleman than a merchant, and our "Governor's kinsman."

[3] *Cloth.—I.e.*, calico.

[4] *Henry Smith.*—See note 3 to page 72.

[5] Humphrey Elkington, brother of Thomas Elkington (p. 295), came out in the same fleet (1614), and was one of the factors told off to make enquiries at Cambay for goods suitable for England. He went with the fleet to Bantam, and thence was sent in the *Solomon* to Masulipatam, where he appears to have died (*O.C.*, No. 523).

The skirmish is thus described by Dodsworth: "The second of February above "three hundred Rashboots assaulted us in a narrow lane, enclosed on both sides "with thick hedges, where we could not hurt them, as they did our Caffila [caravan] "with their arrows and shot. We therefore made what haste we could for the "plain; meanwhile, they cut off two of our coaches. But having gotten the plain "we made a stand, where they betook them to their hedges again, and left us "to look to their prey, lest one thief might rob another. Many of our company "were hurt, whereof Humphrey Elkington for one" (*Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. i., p. 518). Downton (*ibid.*, p. 509) says the Rájputs numbered two hundred, and that

they lost three men killed "and more wounded." Besides Elkington's mishap, the only casualties on the English side were, he says, one horse killed and another hurt.

Page 7.

[1] Captain Downton, in his narrative of the fight, says: "They [the Portuguese] " made preparation to fire their own ships, which was well performed without " harm to the *Hope* (praised be the Lord of Heaven), for so soon as the fire was well " kindled, the ships of fire were let loose and drove aground" (*Purchas*, vol. i., p. 508). This ambiguous language has led some writers (*e.g.*, Lieut. Low, in his *History of the Indian Navy*, vol. i., p. 20) to assume that the Portuguese themselves set fire to their vessels before abandoning them; but it is clear from the text that it was the English who burnt the ships after their capture. This is borne out by Thomas Elkington's letter in vol. ii. (p. 302) of the present series, where it is stated that Downton set the ships on fire "after an hour's possession;" and also by the following passage from a draft letter in *I.O. Marine Records*, XXI., which, in addition, gives particulars of the accidental conflagration on the *Hope* itself:—"The three " ships were presently taken by our men, fired and burnt down to the water, and " many of their frigates sunk. . . . . The tide being well spent and night being " come forced our General that he could do no more that night; but the next day " he would have gone out to them [the Portuguese] had not a mischance come in " the fight to the *Hope's* foremast by fire, which was in the top; the man which was " there being killed, his match fell amongst the powder and wildfire, which burnt " her mast." Dodsworth (MS. journal) says:—"The ships presently after being " cut from the *Hope* and set on fire, blew instantly up in fearful manner, and after- " wards driving ashore, there burnt to the ground."

Purchas, in the *Pilgrimage* (ed. 1626, p. 527), leaves the matter in some doubt. He says that thirty or forty of the Portuguese clambered on the forecastle of the *Hope*; " but the *Gift* in this fatal month answered her name and gave them for a *New Year's* " *Gift* such orations (roarations ye may call them) that they were easily persuaded " to leave the *Hope*, and all hopeless to cool their hot blood with leaping into the " sea's cold waters, where many for want of a boat made use of Charon's; those that " were of most hope and courage held still their possession of the entered *Hope*, but " with interred hopes and dispossession of their lives. . . . . The Portugals, " whether themselves by casualty or industry set fire on their ships, or that the fire " which Master Mullineux, the Master of the *Hope*, cast into one of them, after that " by help of fresh men sent in the pinnace they were got clear of them: certain it is, " that all three driving away upon the ebb (the English had entered before and " killed all they found) fell on fire and, running on the sands, there offered up " themselves at once to all the elements."

Page 8.

[1] The account given of the Viceroy's forces by one of these prisoners will be found in *Purchas* (vol. i., p. 518).

[2] *Covett*. See note 4 to p. 11.

Page 9.

[1] The mission to Persia of Steel and Crouther has been described in the introduction (p. xx.) to the preceding volume, in which the instructions given

to them at their departure for Persia will also be found (p. 266). Their account of the journey is printed in the first volume of *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, p. 519.

[2] *Country Tin.*—This would be imported from Tenasserim or the Malay Peninsula (see vol. ii., p. 86). Practically no tin is found in India proper.

[3] *Price of Quicksilver.*—In the following year Kerridge, at Ahmadábád, finding that the price fell directly the coming of English ships to Surat was announced, for some time declared that no quicksilver had been sent that year; advising the factors at the port to conceal their consignment until the stock on hand had been disposed of (Brit. Mus. *Addl. MS.* 9366, f. 9).

[4] *Sword-blades.*—Cp. vol. ii., p. 301.

[5] *Muscovy hides.*—Russian leather is still imported into India, the skins being used by Europeans (as also by the rich classes in Afghanistan) to sleep upon in the hot weather. It is said that no insect will touch them. See Baden-Powell's *Punjab Manufactures*, p. 124.

Page 10.

[1] *Stametts or Stammels.*—Scarlet cloths.

[2] *Popinjays.*—Parrot-green cloths.

[3] *I.e.*, about fifty tusks to the ton. This is somewhat below the medium for the better class of tusks.

[4] *Coral.*—See vol. i., pp. 301, 307, for the demand in the Deccan for this article. There is still a considerable importation of coral into India for purposes of personal adornment.

Page 11.

[1] The *mamúdi*, a Gujarát coin, worth, as here stated, a little less than an English shilling.

[2] There was, of course, nothing of the nature of a token currency. The ratio of the *paisá* (the present-day *pice*, or quarter-anna) to the *mamúdi* was roughly that of the market value of copper to the market value of silver.

[3] *Varieties of Rials.*—"The current coin at Surat is Rials of eight, whereof the " old with the plain cross is esteemed best, worth five Mamudies apiece; the new " with Flower-delices at the ends of the cross at four Mamudies three quarters, if " they be not light."—Peyton in *Purchas*, vol. i., p. 530. See also p. 214 of vol. ii. of this series.

[4] *Covett.*—This is the Portuguese *covado*, a cubit or ell. It varied considerably. At Ajmere it equalled about 32 inches (see pp. 17, 65). At Surat, as stated in the text, the ordinary "covett" was between 26 and 27 inches; but English cloth was bought by a special "covett," which was about eleven inches longer. Humphrey Elkington in his note-book (I. O. Records: *Fact. Records Misc.*, vol. 25) says that he believes this was established at the first coming of English ships, and that the native dealers "yearly augment it as they list"—trying apparently to get more cloth for the same money!

Page 14.

[1] *Usseph Chann.*—Ásaf Khán was a leading figure at the court of Jahángír, being the elder brother of Núr Mahál, the emperor's all-powerful consort, and the father of Mumtáz Mahál, the favourite wife of Prince Khurram. He took an active part in the administration, and the English were more especially brought into contact with him, as he had been designated their "solicitor," and any applications to the emperor had to be made through him.

[2] *Procuradore.*—Port. *procurador*, agent or solicitor, in the sense explained above. Roe calls Ásaf Khán his "procurator" (Journal, August 5, 1616, p. 224).

[3] *Mahabut Chann.*—Zamáná Beg, better known as Mahábat Khán, had been a personal attendant of Jahángír when prince, and upon his accession received from him many marks of favour. Roe refers to him, in words almost identical with our text, as the king's "only minion" and "the only beloved man of the king and second " person in his dominions," praising him also as " in all his life so liberal of his purse " and honourable of his word that he hath engrossed good reports from all others." Roe was especially pleased with a letter he received from him, "which," he says, " was more civility than all the Indies yielded me." His subsequent career is well known.

Page 16.

[1] *Cushionets.*—Apparently these were similar to the pillows on which lace used within living memory to be made in the London streets.

[2] *Rockwork.*—This word cannot be traced, but some kind of embroidery seems to be intended.

[3] The orlop is generally the lowest deck of a ship.

Page 17.

[1] See pp. 71 and 88. [2] See vol. ii., p. 152.

[3] The old Royal Exchange, built by Sir Thomas Gresham, contained many curiosity-shops.

[4] Eleven and a half per cent. (see p. 86).

Page 18.

[1] See note 7 to page 4. [2] *I.e.*, goods to that amount. [3] Steel.

Page 19.

[1] See vol. ii., p. 164.

[2] These devices are still in vogue, though mainly used now for advertisement purposes.

[3] The destruction of the Spanish Armada.

[4] Cp. the account given by Kerridge of Jahángír's delight in Robert Trully's cornet, though he did not care for the virginals which accompanied them (vol. i., p. 282). Roe, in 1615, took out another pair of virginals, with a skilled player, whose performance gave the Mogul " good content."

Page 20.

[1] The letter has been printed in the Appendix, p. 284.

[2] See vol. ii., p. 154.

[3] John Midnall, a Levant factor, who in 1603 had reached Agra overland, and had obtained from Akbar a grant for English trade (see his letters in *Purchas*, vol. i., p. 114). Returning through Persia, he reached London apparently in 1609, and offered to sell his "privileges" and his services to the Company. His terms were refused; and although there was for a time some idea of employing him as a factor, it was finally resolved to have nothing to do with him. He then returned to the Levant, and, as described in the preceding volume, after a time fled with some goods entrusted to him through Persia to India, where he died at Ajmere in June 1614.

His estate was confiscated by the Mogul, but part was restored on the application of Kerridge, as here narrated. See also the preceding volume.

Page 21.

[1] The endorsement refers only to the first part of the letter.

[2] Christopher Farewell is first mentioned in January 1614, when he was with other factors made free of the Company. Previously, it appears, he had been, like Oxwick, a "Spanish merchant." Downton left him at Surat, but he did not give satisfaction, and in February, 1617 he was dismissed, on charges of "insufficiency, "pride, and mutiny." He returned to England, and for some years pestered the Company with claims for money which he alleged to be due to him, and for further employment in their service. In 1629, and again in 1633, he was given relief from the poor-box; and in the latter year he endeavoured to make a little money by publishing *An East India Collation; or a Discourse of Travels, set forth in sundry Observations, brief and delightful,* the dedication of which he offered to the Company, "but it pleased them not to accept it," he says, "for reasons to themselves best "known." This rare duodecimo of 100 pages contains many interesting particulars of the voyage, and the author's subsequent experiences in Gujárát. He describes Surat, with its streets "humming like bees in swarms, with multitudes of people in "white coats;" and the new factory taken by the English—the former having proved too small for their increased numbers—which had "an orchard and pleasant walks "upon the roof (after the Spanish and the Moorish building) to our rich content, having "chambers, diet, servants, coach and horse, with attendance of Indians called *Peons* "for the way, and all at our honorable masters' charge except our apparel."

Farewell himself "was ever reputed honest, though passionate and self-conceited" (*Court Minutes*, January 8, 1634). In his book he makes rather a parade of his piety, and says that when Sir Thomas Smythe spoke to him of the dangers of the voyage to India, he answered that "the way to heaven lay parallel by sea as by "land, as near from the East as from the West."

Page 22.

[1] Downton's reasons are given on p. 27. In his book Farewell says he was left "to be a friend of trust unto Master Aldworth and an aid unto our masters' affairs, "occasioned by some refractory fugitives that not long before our arrival (to make "a purchase) had attempted his death, being forced into his chamber (a weakly man) "to stand upon his guard to preserve his life."

Page 23.

[1] See note 5 to page 4. An abstract of this letter is given in *O.C.*, No. 187 (see vol. ii., p. 187).

[2] Starkey "was poisoned, and his Indian, by two Friars in the way" (*Purchas*, vol. i., p. 461). The letters he carried were taken to Madrid, and from thence translations were forwarded to the Viceroy. As recently pointed out by Mr. Donald Ferguson, these have been printed in the third volume (pp. 71–88) of *Documentos Remettidos da India*, Lisbon, 1885.

[3] See vol. i., p. 298, and vol. ii., p. 96. The date of the second letter should be August 19th.

[4] Bantam.

Page 24.

[1] "Possessions" seems to be meant.

Page 25.

[1] A second copy, in the handwriting of Thomas Kerridge, occurs among the O.C. duplicates; and a third in *Factory Records, Misc.*, vol. xxv. (p. 100). They present no variation of importance.

Page 26.

[1] This endorsement, like the body of the document, is in Downton's handwriting. It is incorrect, both as to date and as to the value of the stock; but probably the latter is intended to include the 7,000*l.* worth at Ajmere (see p. 12).

Page 27.

[1] See vol. ii., p. 185.

[2] The *Hope*.

Page 28.

[1] The words in brackets have been struck out in the original. "That vile place" is of course Bantam, whose "stinking stew" he had reprobated in a former letter.

[2] These had been given to Downton by one of the sons of Ali Khán, upon the occasion of a visit to the fleet. "He presented me," notes the General in his diary, "with two antelopes, male and female, whereat I was glad, since I had sent to "enquire for some to send home to Sir Thomas Smith, but could not procure any" (*Purchas*, vol. i., p. 512). See also p. 56 of the present volume.

Page 29.

[1] Unfinished. This is merely a draft or copy, but that the original was actually despatched seems to be evident from the endorsement (which is in Downton's handwriting).

[2] The Nawáb Mukarrab Khán (see p. 298).

Page 30.

[1] *Dutch at Surat.*—Cp. vol. ii., p. 171, where it is stated that Mukarrab Khán had sent to Masulipatam to invite the Dutch to Surat. Long before the English arrived the Dutch had tried to open up trade with that city. Hans de Wolff and a companion named Lafer visited Surat in 1602 (De Jonge's *Opkomst*, vol. iii., p. 400), but without much success. Six years later, David van Deinssen and another merchant proceeded thither; but the latter died there, and Van Deinssen committed suicide at Burhánpur. On hearing that the native authorities had seized his effects, the Dutch at Masulipatam threatened to make reprisals on the Mogul shipping. It was in answer to this threat that Mukarrab Khán wrote the letter above referred to, asking for the assistance of the Dutch in the siege of Damán and offering in return to give them that town when taken. This proposal was not accepted, but two merchants were sent overland to claim Van Deinssen's goods, and they were in Surat for this purpose at the time of Roe's stay there.

Page 32.

[1] See vol. ii, p. 212. In the duplicate of the letter of the 19th December, 1614, a few variations occur. The writer omits his own name from the list of factors told off for Cambay, and adds: "They had appointed that I should have gone to Cambaia, as by "Mr. Steel I did write, but since Mr. Edwards and Mr. Aldworth were desirous "I should stay here in regard I have experience in indigo and for my language, for "the Turkish tongue will pass as well here as in Aleppo." The price of indigo is given as "10, 11, 12, 13 and 14 and 14½ roopes per mand;" and the rates at which English sword-blades were sold are stated to have been "12 and 14 roopes per blade, viz., the straight at 12 and the crooked at 14."

[2] John Sandcroft, from the passage quoted above, must have been a Levant merchant before entering the East India Company's service. As will be seen, he went on to Achin and Tiku in the *Hector*. He died some time in 1616 or early in 1617.

Page 33.

[1] *Chekenes*.—See note 6 to p. 176.

Page 34.

[1] Edmund Aspinall was elected a factor in January, 1614, and went out in Downton's fleet. He was one of those who went to Achin and Tiku in the *Hector*, but after that he disappears from view.

Page 35.

[1] Samuel Juxon was apparently quite a young merchant. His letter is written in a beautiful hand, but its diction is scarcely to be commended and its matter is very justly summed up in the endorsement. He was left at Achin in charge of the goods landed from the *Hector* (see p. 125), but died in little more than a month (9th August 1615).

Page 37.

[1] See note 5 to p. 6.

Page 38.

[1] See p. 13.

[2] Francis Sadler, who was at this time Secretary to the Company.

Page 39.

[1] Edward Holmden, who was probably related to Alderman Sir Edward Holmden, one of the original committees of the Company, came out in this voyage for the first time. He died at Bantam, August 8, 1615 (*Purchas*, vol. i., p. 515).

Page 40.

[1] *Brodero*.—Baroda.

Page 41.

[1] *Mirabolins*.—The dried fruit of various species of *Terminalia*, extensively used in India for dyeing and tanning.

[2] *Manges*.—Mangoes.

[3] *Byle.*—Bael fruit, much used in India, either fresh or dried. Here the latter would of course be meant.

[4] *Course.*—The *kos*, the usual measure of distance in India, varying from one and a half to two miles.

Page 42.

[1] Timothy Mallory, "sometime servant to Thomas Harrison," was commended to the Company by Lord Evers. He came out in the 1614 ships, and from Bantam was sent in the *Solomon* to Masulipatam.

Page 43.

[1] *Ramdan.*—Ramazán, the Muhammadan month of abstinence.

[2] *Hogenazan.*—Khoja Názar, who has been frequently mentioned in the previous volumes as Governor of Surat.

Page 46.

[1] *Conny Island.*—Robben Island.

[2] "Salvages" in the original.

[3] See p. 2.

[4] The Table Mountain.

Page 47.

[1] The Shoals of Madagascar. Probably the Parcel or Parcella Bank is meant.

Page 48.

[1] Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo was Viceroy from 1611 to 1617.

[2] *Hogee San Alee.*—Khoja Hasan Alí, Sháhbandar of Surat.

Page 49.

[1] It is much to be regretted that this interesting plan or drawing has perished.

[2] *Secure.*—Lull into a fancied security. It was in his "secure hour" that Hamlet's father was done to death.

Jealous, in the same line, similarly bears its old meaning of "suspicious."

Page 50.

[1] Ralph Preston was one of the factors brought out by Downton. At some previous time he had been in Russia (vol. ii., p. 263). He accompanied Downton to Bantam, and thence was sent to Masulipatam in the *Solomon*. He appears to have died there some time in 1616 or 1617.

[2] The greater part of this letter is a copy of No. 224 (vol. ii., p. 254). Consequently only the additional matter is here given.

Page 51.

[1] Downton says (*Purchas*, vol. i., p. 512) that Mukarrab Khán gave "the gunners "and trumpeters between them two hundred mamúdis [about 10*l.*], and among the "ship's company five hundred mamúdis [25*l.*] and one hundred books of white "Baftas, of two mamúdis apiece."

Page 52.

[1] *Curst.*—Bad-tempered, like "Kate the curst" of *The Taming of the Shrew*.

Edwards says (vol. ii., p. 152) that they were "very chary" of this dog, understanding that it would be very acceptable to the King. Of the dog's presentation at court and Jahángír's delight in his prowess, see p. 71.

[2] John Oxwick had been, according to Farewell (p. 303), a "Spanish merchant" before he took service with the East India Company. As will be seen, his career in the East was a short one. From Surat he went in the *Hector* to Achin, as chief factor, but there, after a while, the management of affairs was taken out of his hands in consequence of his misbehaviour and the offence he had given to the native authorities. He died shortly after (20 June, 1615).

The name of Oxwick's correspondent is not given. It is clear that he was some person in authority at home; and the editor of the *Calendar of State Papers* (*E. Indies*) concludes that he was one of the Committees of the Company. The reference to "Mistress Joan" suggests that the letter was addressed to Maurice Abbot, whose first wife bore that name.

It is instructive to note, from the concluding paragraph, that the chiefs of the Company, though they rigidly forbade private trade (cp. p. 327), were not averse from indulging in it themselves or permitting their relatives to do so.

Page 53.

[1] Sir Thomas Smythe, the Governor of the Company.

Page 54.

[1] Dues were regularly levied on merchandise passing through Broach. "We pay "1½ per cent. for our commodities we bring and pass that way, and the like for "commodities of the country returned that way," says Humphrey Elkington (Notebook in I.O. Records). Van Twist (*Generale Beschrÿvinge van Indien*, 1648) gives the duty as 2 per cent. Roe made an ineffectual attempt to do away with this imposition.

The river is, of course, the Narbadá.

Page 56.

[1] *Antelopes.*—See note 2 to p. 28, and also vol. ii., p. 296.

[2] Sir Dudley Diggs is a well-known figure in the history of the times. He took great interest in the East India trade, and in 1615 published a treatise in defence of the Company's commerce. In the previous year he was nominated for the post of Governor, but was not elected. Later, in 1620, he was sent to Holland with Sir Maurice Abbot (then Governor) to negotiate regarding the troubles in the East.

[3] The intended dispatch of the *Thomas* to Sumatra was mentioned at the close of the last volume.

Middleton's commission "from the King's Majesty" is given in full in *The First Letter Book of the East India Company* (p. 452).

John Milward, the chief factor in this voyage was originally "a jeweller . . . "much commended for his skill and judgment in rough diamonds and cut, and hath "[laid ?] down certain rules in a book, how to judge of the worth of them, by which "a man shall not be deceived, neither in knowledge of them nor their worth; being "one that hath been much employed by the Lord Kinnett, and hath made known "many other things of good import" (*Court Minutes*, March 10, 1614). As the trade in diamonds from Borneo was increasing, it was thought desirable to send him to Bantam as an expert. Extracts from his journal of the voyage outward and his stay in Sumatra will be found in *Purchas* (vol. i., p. 524). He died at Tiku on the 13th July, 1617, of poison, administered, it was thought, by the natives.

William Nicholls, the second factor, was originally a mariner in the *Ascension* (Fourth Voyage). Upon the wreck of that vessel he travelled overland from Surat to Masulipatam; and his narrative of this journey will be found in *Purchas*, vol. i., p. 232. He is next heard of as purser's mate in the *Dragon*, and was left at Tiku by Captain Best. Later he went to Bantam in the *Osiander*, reaching that port on the 26th November, 1614. In the present voyage he was left at Achin, where he remained until the English factory was withdrawn in 1619. In December, 1620, he was appointed chief agent in the Moluccas, and later he was one of the English representatives on the Council of Defence. His death occurred in 1622.

[4] See the Company's Charter, in *The First Letter Book*, p. 184.

Page 57.

[1] Nothing is said in Middleton's commission as to power to pass on the authority given to him to punish offenders.

Page 58.

[1] See note 1 to p. 100.

Page 59.

[1] *Parsama.*—Passaman, on the west coast of Sumatra, 85 miles N.W. of Padang.

[2] John Yates, originally, it would seem, a "servant" of William Greenwell, the Deputy Governor of the Company, had come out in David Middleton's fleet as purser of the *Thomasine*. He was sent to Sumatra in the *Thomas*, and died on board that ship between Achin and Tiku in the autumn of 1615.

[3] John Parsons appears to have gone out in the Seventh Voyage. In October, 1612, Floris despatched him from Patani in a native junk to Macassar. He seems to have gone on later to Bantam, thence to Sukadana, and back again to Bantam.

Page 60.

[1] "Easterly" appears to be meant.

Page 61.

[1] Richard Welden was engaged (at the recommendation of Sir Thomas Smythe) in April, 1609, for service with Captain David Middleton, then about to start in the *Expedition* on the Fifth Voyage. We next hear of him in February, 1613, when Captain Saris, skirting the S.E. of Celebes on his way to Japan, found Welden with two native boats voyaging to Banda in the service of the King of Boeton. Saris endeavoured to persuade him to return to civilisation, but in vain, as Welden was sanguine of making money by remaining with the Boeton King. From Banda he wrote to Floris, at Patani; and later (May, 1614) he came from Boeton to Macassar to urge a fresh English voyage to Banda. Cokayne at first intended to do this, with Welden in charge of the vessel, but afterwards changed his mind. When Jourdain despatched the *Concord* to Macassar on its way to Banda, he expressly directed that Welden's services should be obtained, if possible, owing to his acquaintance with the native tongues. The present letter evidently refers to an incident during the ship's stay at Banda Neira, and it should therefore be dated, as Mr. Sainsbury infers, March, 1615. Welden seems to have been detained in the castle by the Dutch general, and so he writes to Captain Ball to give him what news he has heard.

[2] See note 3 to p. 131.

[3] *Rosenobles.*—Probably the rose-rials of James I. Saris in 1608 notes (*Purchas*, vol. i., p. 392) that at Banda they wish for gold coins, "viz. Rose-nobles of England " and the Low Countries . . . . you shall have there for 70 rials in gold which will " cost you 90 in rials." Cp. also vol. i. of this series, p. 19.

[4] Mr. Scot seems to have been a Dutchman, or an Englishman in Dutch service. The *Hope* was a Dutch vessel (*Purchas His Pilgrimage*, p. 496).

Page 62.

[1] Nothing has been traced regarding this individual.

[2] This is apparently a rough draft, unfinished.

Page 63.

[1] Vol. ii., p. 103. [2] Vol. ii., p. 297.

[3] Kerridge at a later date told Roe that Ásaf Khán had first risen to power by introducing strangers to the notice of the Emperor; "for, knowing the King's extra- " ordinary delight in toys, acquainting himself with the Jesuits and Portingals (after " his sister's admittance to the Sarralya), he brought their presents, suits, and them " to the King, bargaining for their jewels, etc., thereby expressing his ability and " better parts (till then obscure), which, by his sister's means, in short time pur- " chased this alliance [with the Prince] and advanced him to high offices" (*Surat Letter Book*, July 23, 1616).

[4] The Princess Elizabeth, wife of the Elector Palatine.

[5] Jahángír considered himself a great connoisseur of painting; see his Memoirs (in Elliot and Dowson's *History of India*, vol. vi).

Page 64.

[1] See note 3 to p. 14.

Page 65.

[1] *Noroose.*—The *Nau-róz*, or "New (Year's) Day," a feast adopted from the Persians by Akbar. "It commences on the day when the sun in his splendour " moves to Aries, and lasts till the 19th day of the month. Two days of this period " are considered great festivals, when much money and numerous other things are " given away as presents: the first day of the month of *Farwardín*, and the 19th, " which is the time of the *Sharaf*" (Blochmann's *Áin-i-Akbari*, vol. i., p. 276).

[2] See p. 284.

[3] *The Mogul's seal.*—This is figured in *Purchas His Pilgrimes* (vol. i., p. 591), and in Terry's *Voyage to East India.*

[4] *Desturyes.—Dasturi*, a fee, commission, or perquisite.

Page 66.

[1] *The Dragon.*—In Best's voyage (1612–14).

[2] An interesting note, showing the general trend of trade up the Ganges valley to the court at Agra. Of course, during the temporary sojourn of the Emperor at Ajmere a considerable bulk would find its way overland thither from the capital.

[3] The occurrence of mercury in any part of India is still a moot point.

Page 67.

[1] See pp. 9, 10, and 44. [2] *I.e.*, incidents in tales.

Page 68.

[1] On one occasion Sir Thomas Roe had great difficulty in distinguishing a miniature he had given the Mogul from copies of it made by native artists.

[2] The participation of the ladies of the royal family in hunting and out-door exercises contrasts favourably with the practice of their successors. Núr Jahán often assisted at a tiger-hunt.

[3] See note 7 to p. 4.

Page 69.

[1] See p. 20.

Page 70.

[1] This enclosure has not been printed, as it is merely a copy of the document given at p. 145 of vol. ii.

Page 71.

[1] The Portuguese fort at Gombroon, established there in 1612 to secure water and provisions for their settlement at Ormus, had been captured by the Persians.

[2] *The Rana.*—Umra Sing, Ráná of Udaipur, was reduced to submission in 1613–14 by an army under Prince Khurram and Mahábat Khán, and was forced to send his son Karan to court. Roe saw him there in March, 1616.

Page 72.

[1] See note 1 to p. 52. William Harrison, in his *Description of England* (1577), describes the mastiff of his day as trained "by teaching them to bait the bear, the "bull, the lion, and other such like cruel and bloody beasts. . The force which "is in them surmounteth all belief, and the fast hold which they take with their teeth "exceedeth all credit; for three of them against a bear, four against a lion, are "sufficient to try masteries with them."

[2] In the abstract of this letter in the *Calendar of State Papers* (*E. Indies*), 1513–1616, "boar" is misprinted "bear."

[3] *Sir Thomas his sweet kinsman.*—Very little information is extant regarding Henry Smythe, nor is his exact relationship to the Governor anywhere stated. He started with Edwards for the court, but died at Ahmadábád, and was buried (says Dodsworth) in the place appointed for Christians.

Page 74.

[1] *Respective.*—Respectful.

[2] *What cheer?*—An expression which is now accounted a vulgarism; but it is very good English, and can be traced back to 1440. The reader will recollect that in *The Pilgrim's Progress* Faithful accosts Talkative with *Come, what cheer? How is it now?*

Page 75.

[1] See p. 27; also vol. ii., p. 185.

Page 77.

[1] *Dr. Page.*—The Rev. Samuel Page was vicar of St. Nicholas, Deptford. As already mentioned, Mr. Rogers came from this neighbourhood, and Sir Thomas Smythe had a house there. Page had taken part in the expedition to Cadiz (1595) as chaplain to the admiral; and he was also a poet in a small way. Among his

publications we may note: *God be Thanked: a Sermon of Thanksgiving for the Happy Successe of the Englishe Fleetes sent forth by the Honorable Company of Adventurers to the East Indies. Preached to the Honourable Governour and Committees and the whole Company of their good Ship the Hope Merchant, happily returned at Deptford, on Maundy Thursday,* 29 *March*, 1616.

Page 79.

[1] See vol. ii., pp. 148 and 243.

[2] George Withers' *Abuses Stript and Whipt*, published in 1613.

Page 80.

[1] Downton's instructions from the Company are not extant; but they probably included directions for assembling a council of factors "upon any special occasions of trade and merchandizing" and another of masters, etc., "for all seafaring causes whatsoever." See Saris's commission in *The First Letter Book*, pp. 398–9.

[2] Dodsworth, in his MS. journal, says that Downton touched at St. Augustine "for " the supplying of some wants, as of wood and victuals for the refreshing his men, " and likewise to fill his empty cask with water." He also states that Downton purposed "if there we could have found timber, to have furnished himself, whereby " to have erected a pinnace at Surat."

Page 81.

[1] When, in November 1610, he was treacherously seized, together with his chief merchant and many of his crew, having gone ashore in full reliance on the friendliness of the Turks. See *Lancaster's Voyages*, pp. 148, 174, etc.

Page 82.

[1] Mukarrab Khán.

[2] Probably Dodsworth.

Page 83.

[1] Mangoes.

[2] See note 1 to p. 41.

Page 84.

[1] See vol. ii., pp. 187 and 236. The date should be December 26th.

[2] *Agam colours.*—This term occurs in Mitford's previous letter (vol. ii., p. 237). No explanation can be found of its meaning; but it is probably a trade description which has long since dropped out of use.

[3] *Fitches.*—Polecats.

Page 85.

[1] *Lasker.—Lashkar* (Hind.), a camp.

Page 87.

[1] This was too hasty a conclusion. Roe found it to be far otherwise; and later Tavernier, in return for a present worth more than 5,000 livres, received merely a gift of fruit.

[2] *Jangers.*—Jahángír rupees, *i.e.*, those coined during the reign of that monarch, and bearing his name.

[3] *Cassanes.—Khazána* or "treasury" rupees.

[4] *Cecaus.—Sikka* rupees.

[5] *Challennes.—Chaláni* or "current" rupees.

[6] See note 4 to p. 65.

Page 88.

[1] See p. 19.

Page 89.

[1] Not extant.

[2] *Vests.—Khilats*, or dresses of honour, the presentation of which is a well-known Eastern custom.

Page 90.

[1] *Portrait of Sir Thomas Smythe.*—Cp. Edwards' letter in vol. ii. (p. 246). Roe found this painting decking the Mogul's feast.

A painting now in the possession of the Company of Skinners is believed to be a portrait of Sir Thomas Smythe. Possibly the one sent to India was a copy of this. The only other likenesses known are (i) the rare engraving by Simon Passe (reproduced in Markham's *Voyages of William Baffin*); and (ii) the effigy on Smythe's tomb in Sutton-at-Hone church.

Page 92.

[1] The portrait of this anonymous beauty was also seen by Roe at the Mogul court in 1616.

[2] See p. 71; also pp. 109, 111, and 301 of the preceding volume.

Page 93.

[1] It is clear from the address and endorsement that this postscript (which is on a separate sheet) belongs to the present letter to Smythe; and evidently it was so treated at first. When, however, the O.C. series was re-arranged, about sixty years ago, it was removed and attached to No. 270, which is a letter of the 20th March to the Company; and this re-arrangement was apparently accepted by the editor of the *Calendar of State Papers* (*E. Indies*). The only ground for the alteration seems to have been the date; but this was probably a slip on Kerridge's part, he having (with the letter of the 20th in his mind) written "the 21 ditto" instead of "the 27 ditto."

[2] See p. 25.

Page 94.

[1] John Jourdain entered the Company's service in December, 1607, going out as a factor in the ill-fated Fourth Voyage. On the wreck of the *Ascension* he went to Surat and thence up to Agra, but soon returned to Surat, where he got safely on board Middleton's fleet in October, 1611. From the Red Sea he was despatched in the *Darling* to Priaman and Tiku, and later went on to Bantam with Middleton. In February, 1613, he was sent to Amboyna and Ceram with the *Darling*, but Dutch threats effectually prevented the natives from trading with the English. Returning they called at Boeton and Macassar, where a factory was established. Bantam was reached just after Middleton's death. All things being in confusion, Jourdain started in the *Darling* for Masulipatam, but putting into Tiku, he found there Captain Best, at whose instigation the voyage was given over. Returning to Bantam (Nov. 1613), Jourdain was made by Best head of the English factory there, and he remained at his post till December, 1616, when he sailed for England in the *Clove*. He returned to the East in 1618 and on July 17, 1619, was slain in the fight with the Dutch off Patani.

[2] Richard Wickham was also originally a factor of the Fourth Voyage. At Zanzibar he fell into the hands of the Portuguese and was carried to Goa, where he met the

traveller, François Pyrard. In 1610 he was sent to Lisbon and thence made his way back to England. Going out to Japan in the Eighth Voyage, he was left by Saris at Firando; and his letter-book during a part of the time he spent there is still preserved among the India Office Records. In 1618 Wickham went to Bantam and so to Jacatra, where he died not long after.

The present letter was sent by the *Hosiander*, despatched to Japan from Bantam in April, 1615. An account of the voyage (by Rowland Thomas) will be found in *Egerton MS.* 2121 in the British Museum. Another journal (from Patani to Firando and back to Bantam) is among the Marine Records at the India Office.

[3] For Peacock's ill-fated voyage, see the preceding volume.

[4] Richard Cocks, the chief factor in Japan (see the introduction to vol. ii.).

[5] Ralph Coppindall was engaged for seven years on the 22nd March, 1614, and probably went out to Bantam in the *Concord*. He returned to Bantam from Japan later in 1615, but further references to his movements are scanty. His death is mentioned in a letter of the 19th January, 1618 (*O.C.*, No. 595).

[6] *Break*.—No explanation has been found of this term.

Page 95.

[1] Under the same number is a second copy, from which a few corrections have been taken. There are several obvious errors in the account. It will be noticed that the *mamúdi* is taken as equivalent to the English shilling.

[2] *Chop*.—Hind. *chháp* (a seal-impression or stamp) which, like many other Indian trade-terms, found its way into the Malay language. From the sense of impressing or stamping (the equivalent of our signing) documents, the name was transferred to the document itself and used, as here, for a passport or licence.

[3] *Shash*.—A turban-cloth. "Their heads are continually covered with a *shash* or "wreath of narrow calico cloth many times wrapt about them (usually for the colour white or red)."—Terry's *Voyage to East India*, ed. 1777, p. 126.

Page 96.

[1] *Damask*.—Damaskeened; inlaid with gold or silver.

[2] *Wrankiaw*.—The Malay *Orang Kaya*, a noble or chief (literally a "rich man").

[3] *Corge*.—Twenty pieces (derivation uncertain).

Page 97.

[1] *Bishop of Achin*.—The King's favourite *mullá* is doubtless meant. Islam has, of course, nothing answering to the Christian priesthood or ecclesiastical organisation. The title here used is clearly due to the writer of the journal of the First Voyage, a copy of which was probably carried in the present expedition. This says that one of the nobles deputed to treat with Lancaster was "the chief bishop of the realm, "a man of great estimation with the King and all the people, and so he well "deserved, for he was a man very wise and temperate" (*Purchas*, vol. i., p. 155).

[2] *Capadós*.—Eunuchs (Port. *capado*). Cp. p. 125.

[3] *Neale*.—Beng. *nil*, blue (ultimately from Sanskrit *níla*). The common Indian name for indigo is *níl*, and it is often mentioned by the early English factors under that name (or *aníl*, which is the same word in an Arabic form, *al-níl*).

Page 99.

[1] *Ponlema*.—Malay *Pang-līma*, a chief or governor. Cp. p. 191.

Page 100.

[1] *Maces.*—The *mas* (Malay for "gold") is a small gold coin, formerly the standard currency for Achin. John Davis (1600) reckoned it "ninepence-halfpenny nearest" (*Purchas*, vol. i., p. 117), adding that it equalled 1600 leaden coins called "caxas" (cash). A Dutch account of 1602 (I. O. Records, *Hague Transcripts*, S. i., vol ii., No. 37) says 600 "caixas" went to a "coupan," and four "coupans" to a "mas;" and that the last was equivalent to a sixth of a rial, or to 7½ Dutch stivers. Crosse, who was there with Best in 1613, estimates the "masse" at 9*d.*, "and five goes for a " piece of eight; you have also lead money, of which a thousand makes a masse, " called casse; there doth also larres [*larins*; misprinted 'harres'] go current at " 9*d.* the piece, and five to a piece of eight; sometimes they go at a higher rate" (*The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster*, p. 257). Dampier (1688) mentions the "money called cash" made of lead or block tin, of which 1000 to 1500 "make a Mess, which " is their other sort of Coin, and is a thin piece of Gold, stamped with Malayan " Letters on each side. It is in value 15 pence English. Sixteen Mess make a tale, " which here is 20*s.* English." He says also that merchants "before leaving the " Country will change their Messes for uncoined Gold." Crawfurd, in his *Dictionary*, p. 145 (1856) reckons the *mas* as worth about 1*s.* 2*d.*; Yule (*Hobson-Jobson*) gives it as about 1*s.* 1*d.* In the present volume it is taken roughly as equal to a *mamúdi*, and both to an English shilling (pp. 101, 185, etc.)

[2] *Scrivano.*—Clerk, writer, or registrar (Port. *escrivão*).

Page 101.

[1] *Boojoons.*—Apparently "attendants" (Malay *bŭjang*, a young man, a bachelor).

[2] Arthur Spaight, the master of the *Hector*, does not appear to have been in the Company's service before the present voyage; nor is there any notice of him in subsequent years.

Page 102.

[1] "To *cond* or *cun* is to direct or guide, and to *cun a ship* is to direct the person at " helm how to steer her" (Smyth's *Seaman's Grammar*, quoted in Murray's *New English Dictionary*).

[2] Pulo Wai, an island about twelve miles N.E. of Achin Head. In Dampier's time it was used as a penal settlement.

[3] The death of Mr. Salloes is mentioned again on p. 129. Nothing is known of him, unless he was the Allen Salloes who was rejected by the Court in January, 1610, as unfit for the post of a master.

Page 103.

[1] Apparently a reference to some unchronicled display of arrogance by Oxwick while he was stationed at Broach.

Page 105.

[1] *Contrast* is here used in its old sense of *controversy* (see *New English Dictionary* for similar instances).

[2] *Cheppen.*—This is a puzzling term. Saris, in his account of Eastern trade (*Purchas*, vol. i., p. 393), mentions that the Chinese gold thread was "sold by the *chippau* [*ch'hip-pau*], which is a bundle;" and possibly there is some connection between the two words.

Page 106.

[1] Martin Prin or Pring, the master of the *Gift*. He was subsequently the leader of the 1617 fleet, returning to London in 1621. His Virginian voyages are well known. An account of his career is given in the *Dictionary of Nat. Biography*, and in a pamphlet published in 1888 by Dr. J. H. Pring.

[2] John Gourney came out second to Marlow in the *James*, and was left in the Indies as chief for the Ninth Voyage upon the return of that ship in January 1615. He appears to have died at the end of 1616, or early in the following year, while on his way from Bantam to Masulipatam to take up the post of Agent there (*Diary of Richard Cocks*, vol. ii., p. 48). Some personal details will be found in vol. ii. (p. 91).

[3] William Sheppard probably came out about the same time as Gourney. He soon drew the Court's suspicions upon him. On the 3rd August, 1614, they took note of his "proceedings in the East Indies, his boast of his means gotten there, "considering that he went forth a raw youth with much importunity of Sir "Lionel Cranfield, who promised to be his security, and that he has done no "good service, but sent home commodities on his private account;" and a year later they resolved to recall him, hearing that he was now worth 8,000*l.*

[4] Thomas Brockedon was originally purser of the *James*, but was made a factor at Bantam and went to Siam with Gourney in 1614. He rose gradually in the Company's service until in 1620, in consequence of the death of Jourdain, he became for a short time the acting President at Batavia. Three years later the death of Fursland left Brockedon again in charge. He appears to have died in 1623 or 1624.

[5] See note 4 to p. 130.

[6] Adam Denton came out as a factor of the Seventh Voyage. He afterwards became chief at Patani and then at Masulipatam; and returned home in 1621.

Page 107.

[1] See vol. ii., p. 127.

[2] *Caugee.—Congee, i.e.* the water in which rice has been boiled, the usual starch of Indian washermen.

[3] These are all piece goods of various kinds, mostly, it would seem, procured on the Coromandel coast.

Page 108.

[1] Gamboge and lac (or possibly lacca-wood; see note 2 to p. 179).

[2] *Noccada.*—The *nákhudá* or captain of a native ship.

[3] *Jambin.*—See note 1 to p. 160.

Page 109.

[1] *Cupang.*—See note 1 to p. 100.

[2] *Godung.*—A warehouse (Malay *gadong*, which, according to Sir Henry Yule, comes originally from the Tamil).

Page 111.

[1] The MS. is dated 1615. This has been accepted as correct in the *Calendar of State Papers* (*E. Indies*), but it is clearly a slip on the part of the writer, as is proved by the references to the movements of the various ships mentioned. The previous letter by the *Advice* (which sailed the 12th August, 1615) is No. 289 of the present series (p. 149).

[2] Robert Youart started for the East late in 1614 as chief factor on the *Advice*, which upon arrival at Bantam was sent to Japan, as above stated. His instructions will be found in *Fact. Rec.*, *Misc.*, vol. xxv., p. 129. The vessel failed to reach her port, and had to return. In the summer of 1616 she made a further attempt, and this time succeeded, reaching Firando on the 13th July. Youart, however, had died on the voyage.

Page 112.

[1] This letter is in Jourdain's own hand.

Page 113.

[1] See *Purchas*, vol. i., pp. 531–32.

Page 114.

[1] *I.e.*, the Sultan of Mataram, the principal native ruler in Java. His dominions comprised the central portion of the island.

[2] See pages 128, 186, etc. [3] *Busser*.—Bazaar.

Page 115.

[1] Probably a Dutchman. [2] This seems to be broken Portuguese for "very bad."

Page 116.

[1] This was so; see vol. i., p. 271, and *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster*, page 254.

Page 117.

[1] Nicholas Bangham was originally a joiner; but having been left at Surat by the *Hector*, he proved so useful and trustworthy that on his return to England in 1614 the Company made him a factor. He came out again in the 1615 fleet, and was made cape merchant at Burhánpur. He held that post until the spring of 1618, when he went home in the *Bull*. Roe characterised him as the best linguist in the Company's service in India. The present letter, written at the Cape, was no doubt brought home by the *Hope*, like other similar letters given at p. 182 of the last volume.

[2] Thomas Barwick, master of the *Peppercorn*. He went out again in 1619, as master of the *Bear* (meeting at the Cape with Roe, returning from India), and his too easy surrender of his ship to the Dutch, when attacked at Tiku, caused the Company to accuse him to the Privy Council of treachery and cowardice. He was committed to the Marshalsea, but appears to have obtained his release after three months' imprisonment.

[3] Christopher Harris, who had had some mercantile experience in Guinea, was engaged on the 4th April, 1614, and later was made captain of the *Peppercorn* in Keeling's fleet. He brought his ship home safely in 1617, but seems then to have quitted the Company's service.

References to the quarrel between him and Barwick will be found at pp. 184, 192, and 194 of the preceding volume.

[4] William Keeling, who had been a captain in the First Voyage, had held the chief command in the Third, and was now again on his way to the East armed with extensive powers. He returned in 1617, and in the following year we find him captain of Cowes Castle. He died in 1620, and was buried in Carisbrooke church, where a quaint tablet to his memory may still be seen.

[5] John Curtis, master of the *Lion* (cp. pp. 192 and 194 of vol. ii.).

[6] As here stated the *James* and *Globe* left Table Bay on their homeward voyage on the 17th May, 1615 (*Purchas*, vol. i., pp. 328, 444). The "two small pinnaces" were the *Advice* and the *Attendant*, outward bound (*ibid.*).

[7] Robert Gipps was entertained at the end of 1614. He appears to have died at Ahmadábád the 23rd May, 1616. For the "discontents" between him and Captain Harris, see vol. ii., pp. 184, 185, 190, 192, 194.

Page 119.

[1] See vol. ii., pp. 184, 185, 191, 192, 194.

[2] The *Hope*.—Of Downton's fleet. "June 17: Arrived the ship *Hope* homeward; " in her Mr. Dodsworth, by whom we understood at large the many injuries and " abuses offered our nation at Suratt by the Portugals, and how their malicious pro- " jects and fire-devices were with God's assistance withstood."—Peyton's MS. Journal (Brit. Mus. *Addl. MS.* 19276).

[3] It was the general impression in Keeling's fleet, when at the Cape, that they would have to fight the Portuguese at Surat, as the previous fleet had had to do. " It is doubtful," noted Roe, " that the trade with the Mogull must be maintained " with arms."

Page 119.

[1] *Condemned men*.—These were convicts from Newgate, whom the Company had offered to transport to the Cape, as a charitable deed, to save them from being hanged. Upon arrival there, two were spared, upon Roe's intercession with Keeling, and the rest were set ashore, with a few tools, weapons and provisions. In the following year the *Gift*, on her homeward voyage, took off three of the survivors, and the rest are said to have found a passage in a Portuguese ship.

Page 120.

[1] The *Hector*, as we have already seen, had been detached from Downton's fleet on its way from Surat to Bantam. The *Thomas*, knowing nothing of this, had come from Bantam seeking trade on the coast of Sumatra (see vol. ii., pp. 318, 322, etc.), and, finding it impossible to open up commerce at Tiku without the permission of the King of Achin, had come on to the latter port to obtain the necessary licence.

It will be noticed that only the views of the master and merchants of the *Hector* are given in this paper, followed by the joint determination, which is signed by both sides.

Page 122.

[1] In the fight off Swally against the Portuguese.

[2] Copper-sheathing is a comparatively modern practice; but its utility was pointed out by Peyton in 1616, as also the advantage of a double sheathing of wood in place of the single sheathing then in vogue. "The double sheathing of ships " which go to Surat," he says, "is of great purpose; for though the outermost " sheathing be eaten like a honeycomb with worms, yet the inner is nothing " perished. It were also requisite that the rudders were sheathed with thin copper " to prevent the worms eating off the edges thereof, which causeth great defect in " the steering, not easily to be remedied, being so deep under water" (*Purchas*, vol. i., p. 532). Full sheathing and the copious use of nails were long peculiar to ships

intended for trade in the Indies; and when, early last century, a strict watch had to be kept for intending interlopers, attention was always directed to vessels which were being constructed in this fashion.

[3] Gujáráti merchants. [4] Spaight.

Page 123.

[1] See p. 126.

Page 124.

[1] *Saker.*—"An ancient four or five-pounder of 13 feet, weighing from 2,500 to "2,800 lbs" (Farrow's *Military Encyclopædia*).

[2] See p. 226.

Page 125.

[1] *Minion.*—"An ancient form of ordnance of small size, the calibre of which was "about 3 inches" (Farrow *ut supra*).

Page 127.

[1] There is an unsigned copy among the O.C. duplicates, but it presents no variation of importance.

Page 128.

[1] *Avon Caie.*—See note 2 to p. 96. [2] See p. 114.

Page 130.

[1] This letter occupies two sheets, which, having been accidentally separated, received different numbers when the series was made up.

[2] Skinner came out as master in the *Globe* (Seventh Voyage), but (as he narrates in the course of the present letter) at Bantam he volunteered to change into the *Concord* for her expedition to the Moluccas. For Denton, see note 6 to p. 106.

[3] The Coromandel coast.

[4] *Signor Peter Floryes.*—Pieter Willemsz. van Elbingh (Floris appears to be a name he assumed, probably as a disguise, on entering the service of the English Company) had been an *onderkoopman* in the employment of the Dutch East India Company on the Coromandel coast. Thence he had made a voyage to Aracan (1608), his report on which has been printed by De Jonge (*Opkomst van het Nederlandsch Gezag*, vol. iii., p. 287). In 1610 we find him in London, bargaining, in company with Lucas Antheunis (Antheunisz.), with the East India merchants for a voyage to the Coromandel coast, Patani, Siam, and Bantam, to be managed principally by the two Dutchmen, who also contributed one-eighth of the stock. The voyage proved a success, and Floris brought home his ship, richly laden, in 1615; but he was very ill at the time of his arrival, and died within two months of his return to London. An interesting letter from Governor-General Reynst (printed in Tiele's *Opkomst*, 2nd S., pt. 1, p. 113) shows that at Bantam Floris had made secret overtures to his countrymen, with a view to returning to their service. Antheunis did not reach England until September, 1618 (See *The First Letter Book*, pp. 363, 369, 379, 427; Floris's journal in *Purchas*, etc.).

[5] To *bob off* is to get rid of by fraud. Cp. Brome's *City Wit*, III., iv. (quoted in *New English Dictionary*): "If you could bob me off with such payment."

Page 131.

[1] Of this incident see vol. ii., p. 294, and Floris's journal in *Purchas*, vol. i., p. 327. The mention of *Mr. Brown's tomb* is interesting, as showing that a substantial monument had been erected by the river side over the remains of Robert Brown, the English merchant who had been associated with Floris and Antheunis in the management of the Seventh Voyage, and had died at Masulipatam on the 7th September, 1611.

[2] The outward voyage of the *Concord* is described in a letter from Samuel Boyle to the Company, dated the 13th January, 1614-15, which is now in vol. iii. (pt. i.) of the Java series of the I.O. Records. It states that the vessel left England on the 9th January, 1614, reached the Cape the 9th May, left again the 6th June, and arrived at Bantam the 8th September. Richard Petty, her master, and Giles Hawkins, her merchant, died shortly after her arrival.

[3] George Ball went out in the Eighth Voyage with Saris. In March, 1617, he became president at Bantam, but four years later he was recalled on account of his private trading. An action was entered against him in the Star Chamber for 70,000*l.*, but the case had not been settled by the time of his death (about the beginning of 1625).

[4] George Chauncey came out as a factor in the *James*. Early in 1615 he was made chief of Macassar (as here stated), but shortly after withdrew to Bantam on hearing rumours of an impending Spanish attack (p. 134). He appears to have died at Patani in the autumn (see p. 181).

Page 132.

[1] George Cokayne, "who speaks Italian and Portuguese," was engaged by the Company on December 29, 1609, to serve for seven years. He probably went out in the Sixth Voyage. He was with Jourdain in the *Darling's* voyage to the Moluccas (1613), and was left by him at Macassar on the homeward voyage.

[2] Reynst (see note 3 to p. 135).

[3] To *waft* was to *convoy*—in this case against the wish of the vessel convoyed.

[4] *Gillililli.*—Probably the Gulagula afterwards mentioned (see note 4 to p. 286).

Page 133.

[1] *Green Lawee.*—De Groene Leeuw (Green Lion).

Page 134.

[1] See note 2 to p. 96.

Page 135.

[1] Sophony Cozuck, otherwise Sophonias the Kazak (Russian), was engaged in March, 1609, for a period of seven years. In 1613 he established a factory at Sukadana and in the next year attempted to do the same at Landak. His share in the 1615 voyage to the Bandas is described in the present volume. He took part in Courthope's expedition thither in 1616, and in the course of the fight with the Dutch in January, 1617, was "beaten in pieces with a great shot."

[2] Goenoeng Api, an island volcano, 2,500 feet high, situated to the west of Banda Neira, opposite the Dutch fortress on the latter. It is noted for its frequent and destructive eruptions, which are generally accompanied by violent earthquakes and by risings of the sea equally dangerous. The outbreak of 1691 was so terrifying that many of the inhabitants of the Banda group fled to Amboyna or Celebes.

[3] Gerard Reynst, Governor-General 1614-15. [4] *Batte*.—Bartholomew.
[5] *Cockee*.—Coxswain? [6] *Capan*.—Probably "capon," *i.e.*, eunuch.

Page 136.

[1] Not extant.

[2] Benjamin Farie was engaged in January, 1610, and went out as purser of the *Darling* in the Sixth Voyage. After being employed at Patani and Macassar, he was made chief of the factory in Siam, and died there September 11, 1616 (*O. C.*, Nos. 405, 490, 493).

Page 137.

[1] Sir Henry Middleton.

[2] The loss of so splendid a vessel as the *Trades Increase*, with the death of her commander and most of her crew, and then of five hundred natives employed upon her, gave rise to a weird tale. It was said that "the Devil appeared on Pulo Penjohn island [where the ship was being careened], signifying his offence that the Chineses would undertake such a business on his ground and give him nothing (for they were the workmen); whereupon one of the chief Chinese carpenters came to Sir Henry Middleton and reported it, desiring to have a buffalo for sacrifice; who denied, yea, forbade him when he would have done it at his own charge, esteeming the want thereof cause of their evils" (*Purchas*, vol. i., p. 526).

[3] Nanking. [4] Boeroe. [5] See vol. ii., pp. 32, 33, 78, 79.

Page 138.

[1] Here, as elsewhere, *pretended* means "intended."

[2] *Sternfasts*.—Mooring-cables.

[3] *Quoyanes*.—A measure used for rice, equivalent to about two tons (see vol. ii., p. 77). Fryer (*New Account*) estimates it at 3,600 lbs.

Page 139.

[1] *General Rence*.—See note 3 to p. 135.

Page 140.

[1] *Cumber*.—Komber, on the western side of Lontor, or Great Banda.

[2] Sophony Cozuck (see note 1 to p. 135).

[3] *Lontore*.—Lontor, a town on the island of the same name.

[4] *Murderers*.—Pieces of ordnance so called.

Page 141.

[1] Keeling. [2] David Middleton.

Page 143.

[1] *I.e.*, the (native) chief of Hitoe, on the northern side of the island of Amboyna. He was the representative of the Sultan of Ternate, the overlord of the Moluccas.

[2] *Louga*.—Loehoe, a town on the western peninsula of Ceram, opposite to Hitoe.

[3] The *Thomasine*, of David Middleton's fleet, had been despatched from Bantam "for Amboina and Banda to second the *Concord*, and homeward to touch at Timour

" and Gracia upon Java" (vol. ii., p. 318; cp. also *ibid.*, pp. 322, 325, 328, 332, 335, and 338, and p. 95 of the present volume).

The letter of explanation and instructions which she brought to Ball from Jourdain is given at p. 339 of vol. ii.

Page 145.

[1] The *Thomasine*.

Page 147.

[1] See note 2 to p. 111.

[2] Not extant.

Page 148.

[1] It was the practice of the Company to obtain and send out with each fleet a number of commendatory letters signed by King James, some already addressed to various Eastern princes, and others with the name left blank, to be filled in by the chief factor as occasion required (see *The First Letter Book*, passim). A specimen of the former class (a letter to the Shah of Persia in 1622) is now among the India Office Records; and another, addressed to the Emperor of Japan, and dated January 10, 1612, is noticed in the Fifth Report (p. 343) of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. It is described as beautifully written on vellum, about 18 inches by 15, and ornamented with gilding, etc. It was then in the collection of Mr. R. Cholmondeley, of Condover Hall, but his collection has since been dispersed, and the present whereabouts of this interesting document is not known.

Page 149.

[1] See p. 94. The present is the letter spoken of on p. 111 as sent in the *Advice*, which, as already stated, failed to reach its destination.

[2] In their earlier voyages the Company openly named in their commission the factors who were to succeed in turn to the command of the ships; but from the Sixth Voyage onward (*First Letter Book*, p. 345) the practice was adopted of placing the names in sealed boxes, which were to be opened in turn as the necessity arose. This was probably copied from the Dutch (see *Purchas*, vol. i., p. 123).

Page 150.

[1] General Downton and the factors associated with him.

[2] Sambopa, the King's fortress and place of residence, near Macassar town. It was captured by the Dutch in June, 1669, the date of their subjugation of Macassar (I. O. Records: *Celebes*, vol. i., p. 371).

Page 151.

[1] *Cresses.*—The *krīs* or national weapon of the Malays—a sharp dagger or poniard. Dampier calls it a *cresset*.

[2] *Spaces.*—These seem to have been javelins or darts of some kind; cp. vol. ii., p. 93, where the word is spelt "spatas."

[3] See note 3 to page 138.

[4] *Sollore.*—Solor, the southernmost of two islands which lie off the eastern extremity of Floris. It was taken from the Portuguese by the Dutch in 1613.

[5] *Pagarr.*—Malay *pagar*, a fence or enclosure, hence a factory, and here (by transference) the factory stock. Sir Henry Yule, in *Hobson-Jobson*, quotes a passage in which the word is used in the sense of "factory" in 1702.

Page 152.

[1] The Bugis or Wugis inhabit the south-western limb of Celebes; the Mandars the western coast of the central portion.

For "island countries" should probably be read "inland countries."

Page 153.

[1] *Sháhbandar*, or Governor of the Port. Jourdain succeeded in obtaining a promise of the release of these prisoners (see p. 273).

[2] We have here four documents which Antheunis left behind him at Ayuthia (Siam).

[3] *Sciam.*—Ayuthia, Yuthia, or Judea (Sanskrit *Ayudya*), the capital of Siam until it was sacked by the Burmese in 1767. It is situated on the Menam, 43 miles above Bangkok.

[4] *Neat.*—Pure, unadulterated (hence our "net").

[5] *Janggamay.*—Kiang-mai, Xiengmai, or Zimmé, an important town in Northern Siam, 130 miles north of Rahang.

Antheunis had sent Thomas Samuel and Thomas Driver thither from Ayuthia in 1613 (vol. ii., p. 113), having possibly heard of Ralph Fitch's visit to the place many years before (*Purchas*, vol. ii., p. 1740). The present letter was to await Samuel's return; but this was never to be, for he was at Kiang-mai when in 1615 the town was captured by the Pegu Rájá, and he is expressly mentioned as being among the strangers carried back to Pegu by the latter. Samuel died at Pegu not long after, and Antheunis, hearing that his estate was still in the Rájá's custody, sent two Englishmen from Masulipatam in 1617 to claim the goods and to open up trade if possible. They stayed in the country for some time, recovered most of Samuel's goods, and returned to Masulipatam in April 1619 with a present and letter from the Rájá, inviting further commerce (*Purchas His Pilgrimage*, pp. 1606–7; see also the *Pilgrimes*, vol. i., p. 324).

Page 154.

[1] The MS. reads: "in place you shall of those dd. unto."

[2] *I.e.*, entirely your fault.

[3] The war between Pegu and Siam already mentioned.

[4] *Screets.*—Hasty notes (Ital. *scritto*); cp. the Anglo-Indian *chit.*

[5] Taels.

Page 155.

[1] *Beathiles.*—This and the four following items are all Coromandel piece-goods of which no exact description can be given. Sir Henry Yule traces *beathile* to Sp. and Port. *beatilla* or *beatilha*, "a veil," derived, according to Cobarruvias, from "certain *beatas* [*religieuses*] who invented or used the like."

[2] *I.e.*, "somma: Taels."

[3] Thomas Driver, as already mentioned, had been sent to Kiang-mai with Thomas Samuel, but returned some time before the present date (see p. 156), and thus escaped the fate of his comrade. Nothing is known of his further career.

Page 156.

[1] *Tecall.*—*Tikul*, the fourth part of a tael.

It may be noted that on the basis given on p. 154, the Siam silver *tikul* equalled three-fifths of a rial, or about 2*s*. 8*d*.; Crawfurd in 1856 estimated it at 2*s*. 6*d*.; to-day

it is worth 1*s.* 8*d.* On the history of the word see Col. Temple's articles in the *Indian Antiquary* for September and October 1897.

Here of course we are dealing with *tikuls* of gold, and it is interesting to find, from the table on p. 157, that the ratio of gold to silver in Siam at this time was about seven to one (2456 to 357).

[2] This should be $115\frac{3}{8}$.

[3] *Matte.*—The *mat* or touch of gold. "Gold, purified from all other metals . . . : " by us is reckoned as of 24 carats, but by the blacks is here divided and reckoned as " of 10 *mat*" (Havart's *Op en Ondergang van Coromandel*, 1693, quoted in Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*).

[4] This should be $54\frac{1}{8}$, as on the next page.

Page 158.

[1] "Benjanin" in duplicate. Benjamin or benzoin (a kind of incense) is of course intended.

[2] Cp. p. 179.

[3] *Baccam or brazill wood.*—Sappan wood; "the bakkam of the Arabs and the Brazil-wood of mediæval commerce" (*Hobson-Jobson*, p. 600).

Page 159.

[1] *Gaddones.*—Godowns (see note 2 to p. 109).

[2] *Narsaperpeata.*—Narsápur(patam), on the western bank of the Vasishta, the most southerly branch of the Godávari; about six miles from the sea, and thirty-nine from Masulipatam. Madapollam, where for long the English had a factory, is a northern suburb of Narsápur. There appears to have been a considerable ship-building industry at this place; and the *Globe* had been repaired there in 1613–14 so well that "now per the company's own speeches she is better trimmed and a far " better ship than when she first came out of England" (Floris in vol. ii., p. 41).

Page 160.

[1] This is an account of the voyage of the newly-arrived *Attendant*, with a country-built pinnace, to Jambi, on the east side of Sumatra, where the Dutch and Portuguese had already established trade (see pp. 150, 174, and 277). The name of the writer does not appear, but it is evident that it is Richard Westby, though he mostly speaks of himself in the third person.

[2] Pulo Pandang, an island in the Bay of Bantam, often mentioned as the place where the English careened their ships. In the *Histoire de la Navigation aux Indes Orientales par les Hollandois* (Amsterdam, 1609) it is described (p. 20) as "une basse, verde, et belle Isle, des Javans nommee Pulo Paian, c'est a dire, Isle longue;" and on p. 22 of the same work the statement is made that for this island "les Portugez " ont offert 200,000 Crusades, mais les Javans ne l'ont voulu vendre a eux, car ils " scavent bien que celuy qui est maistre de cette Isle n'est pas tant seulement maistre " de la ville, ains aussi maistre de les Isles Orientales."

[3] *Bedrow.*—An obsolete word, possibly from *bederoll*, in the sense of a "string." The reference is obviously to the "long bed of small islands" (now called the Duizend Eilanden) to the N.E. of Bantam described in Davis's Ruter (*Purchas*, vol. i., p. 452).

Page 161.

[1] Boom Island?

Page 162.

[1] Probably the Soengsang; but, if so, the master must have been out in his latitude.

[2] "See whether" is probably meant, as in the entry for the 26th.

Page 163.

[1] Possibly Bali.

[2] No island called Jambi can be traced in the first English edition of Linschoten (1598).

Page 164.

[1] *Qualemver.*—The Kwala-nur or "coco-palm mouth," the more westerly of the two branches by which the Jambi River enters the sea. The English ships had, of course, arrived at the mouth of the eastern branch, the Kwala-sadū, which though larger than the other is less navigable.

Page 165.

[1] *Captain More.*—Portuguese *capitão mór*, or captain in chief.

Page 166.

[1] See p. 200.

Page 167.

[1] *Jurybassa.*—An interpreter (Malayo-Javanese *juru bahāsa*, "language master"; see *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 362).

[2] *Purchase.*—In the old sense of "seize."

Page 168.

[1] That the Dutch did their best to prevent any concession to the English is shown by two letters from Dutch factors at Jambi, dated respectively November 6, 1615, and January 10, 1616, in the *Hague Transcripts* (Series I, vol. ii., Nos. 75 and 76). In the first of these Abram Sterch says that he has presented to the King a letter from the King of Johore, advising him not to entertain the English; in the second, another factor writes that, partly because the Dutch have displeased the natives, and partly by means of presents (especially guns), the English have obtained a site "as good as ours," and equal freedom of trade; they are building a large factory, but he thinks they will find that there is not much trade to be got. Cp. also *O.C.*, No. 338.

[2] In the second of the two letters above quoted, it is stated that both the old and the young King are constantly quarrelling, and that neither has much power.

[3] *Gantans.*—Malay *gantong*, a measure defined by Crawfurd as equal to about a gallon. The *Histoire* quoted on p. 323 gives a *ganta* of pepper as weighing about 3 lbs. Dutch. Cocks, speaking of the Japanese measure, says it "may be some three ale-pints in England, for it is above three wine-pints, as I have seen it proved per an English wine-pint in Japan" (*Purchas*, vol. ii., p. 1695). Fryer, in his *New Account*, says: "Pepper is sold by the *ganton*, of which 225 make a *Bahar* Banda (600 lbs. neat)."

[4] The letter is given on p. 201.

Page 169.

[1] The bill of lading and the cargo list will be found in *Java*, vol. iii., pt. I. (I.O. Records). From a note on the latter we find that of the porcelain the prime cost

was: saucer dishes, nearly *2d.* apiece: flat sallet dishes, about *3½d.*; sallet cups, *3½d.*; posset dishes, *4d.*; small ("quarter") basins, *1s. 9d.*; larger ("half") basins, *2s. 6d.*; largest ("whole") basins, *5s.*

Page 170.

[1] As stated on p. 338, a duplicate of this letter is contained in No. 330 (p. 272). It varies slightly on several points. Here, for instance, for "5th" the duplicate reads "15th."

[2] Cp. pp. 134, 146.

[3] The duplicate has: "Certain Spanish galleys and one ship, that came thither to get victuals to maintain their castle of Tedor, having fought with the Flemish ship, threatening to take their people and goods aland."

[4] "And take in Mr. Gorney for cape merchant, and so to proceed thither to settle a factory, which hitherto hath been neglected" (duplicate).

Page 171.

[1] *Gracia.*—Gressik, near Soerabaja, on the north-eastern coast of Java. The Dutch established a factory there in 1602. A letter from King James to the "high and mighty King of Gresicke," printed in *The First Letter Book* (p. 424) shows that Floris and Antheunis had intended to open up communication with that port.

The shipwreck is mentioned in Elkington's journal (*Purchas*, vol. i., p. 515): "The " sixteenth [August] the *Thomasine's* boat came into Bantam with twenty-two " English and five Blacks, which told of the casting-away of the *Thomasine* on certain " flats, twenty-two leagues from Macassar, the night before, Wilson the master being " careless and all the company asleep, saving he which was at the helm. The " money they saved and brought with them. Master Baily signified also that the " wrecked company there enforced him to pay them their wages, which we caused " them to restore." See also pp. 175 and 260 of the present volume.

[2] "Some 17,000 sacks of pepper, which is to be paid in this month" (duplicate)

[3] "Fine" (duplicate).

[4] "By reason of the death of General Dowton" (duplicate).

[5] In the duplicate Jourdain says he is content to stay "till further order or the " coming of General Keeling."

[6] See note to p. 133.

Page 172.

[1] See p. 1.

[2] The date here given is by no means clear in the MS., the original figure having been overwritten. The question is settled, however, by an entry in Elkington's journal (*Purchas*, vol. i., p. 515).

Page 173.

[1] This should be "Edmund." The two names were frequently confounded.

[2] Cp. pp. 170, 259.

[3] At Masulipatam, not Patani.

Page 174.

[1] An imperfect copy of the Bantam list of goods shipped by the *Advice* for Japan is preserved in vol. xvi. of the China series of I.O. Records.

[2] It is more probable that it was the *Samaritan* than the *Hope*, as the latter did not reach the Cape till the 17th June.

[3] See note 2 to p. 149. [4] Cp. p. 160. [5] See p. 160.

Page 175.

[1] *Second Voyage of the Joint Stock.*—The exact order in which the five fleets of the First Joint Stock should be arranged has been a doubtful point. Taking them in the order of the dates of sailing, Downton's voyage (1614) would be the first, David Middleton's (1614) the second, Keeling's (1615) the third, Joseph's (1616) the fourth, and Pring's (1617) the fifth. Purchas expressly styles Pring's voyage the fifth, and there is no doubt about the third and fourth; but the difficulty has been in fixing the other two. Purchas twice calls Downton's fleet the *second* (Middleton's fleet he does not number). It has been suggested (*Voyages of Sir James Lancaster*, Introduction, p. 15) that this was a mistake on his part, but here we have proof that he is right. The explanation probably is, that although Middleton started later than Downton's, yet, as his destination was Bantam (the head settlement), and he was timed to arrive there some months before Downton, his fleet was reckoned as the *first* of the Joint Stock. This theory would reconcile all differences, and it does not seem unreasonable in itself.

[2] *Suckells.*—Mace was usually sold by the suckell or succatt, which seems to have been equivalent to about 132 lbs.

[3] Nutmegs.

Page 176.

[1] This is the only document in the present instalment relating to Steel's mission to Persia, described in the introduction to the preceding volume. It was apparently sent to India from Ispahan. Mr. Sainsbury has fixed its date as the 9th October, the twenty-five days of which Steel speaks being thus reckoned as from the 15th September, the date of his arrival; but Crouther did not reach the city till four days after his companion, and so the letter may have been written at any time between the 9th and the 13th October. It should be compared with Steel's "brief tareg of Persia," printed in *The First Letter Book* (p. 462) and his narrative in *Purchas* (vol. i., p. 523).

[2] *Abase.*—Abbási.

[3] *Metzicales.*—Misqál. Dr. Ball in his edition of Tavernier's *Voyages* calculates this weight as about 80 grs. troy.

[4] *Mamede.*—Mamúdi.

[5] *Shahey.*—Sháhi.

[6] *Cheken.*—The Venetian gold sequin (*zecchino*), which mediæval commerce had made current in the East. Cæsar Frederick values it at 7*s*.

[7] *Casbeges.*—Fryer calls these *cosbeagues*. *Bisties.*—Bísti.

[8] *Tanges.*—*Tanga* or *tanka*, a term very widely used in the East, and applied to various gold, silver, and copper coins. Here the last-mentioned metal is meant. In Steel's "tareg" already cited, he takes the sháhi as equivalent to 4*d*. Herbert (who was in Persia in 1627–28) takes it at the same rate; he mentions the abbassee (16*d*.), larree (10*d*.), mamoodee (8*d*.), shahee (4*d*.), saddee (2*d*.), bistee (2*d*.), double cozbeg (1*d*.), single cozbeg ($\frac{1}{2}$*d*.), and fluce ($\frac{1}{20}$*d*.). Earlier (1566), Arthur Edwards had valued the sháhi at 6*d*., while 2 "bists," according to him, made 5*d*. Mandelslo (1637) reckoned the sháhi at 5*d*.; Tavernier at 4*d*.

Page 177.

[1] *Drames.*—Drams.

[2] *Zegam.*—Shiraz?

[3] *Towris.*—Tauris.

[4] *Batman.*—The *bátmán* is a Turkish weight, used in Western Persia, and equivalent to the royal mann.

[5] *Mahan.*—The mann-i-sháhi (royal mann) is now estimated as equal to about 15 lbs. avoirdupois; Steel reckons it at 10 lbs. (*First Letter Book*); Edwards calls it 12 lbs.

[6] *Pike.*—This was the usual measure of length in the Levant and the neighbouring countries.

[7] *Corosson.*—Khorassan.

[8] *Watchets.*—A blue-coloured woollen stuff, made at Watchet in Somersetshire.

Page 178.

[1] 20 in *The First Letter Book*, which is apparently right.

[2] A few corrections have been made in this document from a copy among the O.C. Duplicates.

[3] See p. 158.

Page 179.

[1] *Sangora.*—Singora or Songkla, on the eastern coast of the Malay peninsula, about fifty miles north-east of Patani. The *James* trimmed there in August, 1614, and reported it to be "a very good place under two islands, fast by the main" (*Purchas*, vol. i., p. 444).

[2] *Lacree.*—This appears to be Saris's "Cayulacca" (*Purchas*, vol. i., p. 392), that is, "Lacca-wood." Crawfurd, in his *Malay Dictionary*, gives *laka* as the "name of a "red wood used as incense, *Myristica iners*;" in his *Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands*, he calls it the "*Tanarius Major*, a tree with a red-coloured wood, a native of "Sumatra, used in dyeing and in pharmacy. It is an article of considerable native "trade, and is chiefly exported to China." For illustrative excerpts see *Hobson-Jobson*, under "Cayolaque."

Page 180.

[1] See p. 159.

Page 181.

[1] See *The First Letter Book*, pp. 132, 246, 302, 332, 374, 382, 401.

[2] A further instance of private trade, which flourished in spite of all efforts of the Company to stop it. In a letter to Bantam, dated Dec. 10, 1613, they said: "Because with our own eyes we see and from other information we hear many of our "factors to drive private trades to our no small damage, and though we have expressly "forbidden the same and bound all our factors in bonds not to do it, yet they will "dare to wrong us: we make it known unto you, and pray every one to take notice "of our minds herein, that we permit none, but forbid all our factors and other "our servants whatsoever of any sort to have any particular trade for himself or "friends in private upon our utter displeasure; and we do desire all our honest and "well-minded factors or others that shall know any private trade to be driven or "used to private uses to hinder it there to the uttermost of their power and withal "to inform us thereof with all speed, and we will make such offenders examples for "all others that shall follow in like course" (*Fact. Rec., Misc.*, vol. xxv., p. 104). On Nov. 3, 1614, they returned to the subject:—"Often have we forbidden our factors "all private trade by our writing (upon peril of our displeasure and their own "discredities), whereunto also they have bound themselves by their promises and "bonds with penalties, and yet are some of them so dishonest to break through all. "We will you therefore to make known unto all that do so little regard our com-"mandment, their own promises and bonds, that they shall find it unpleasant unto "them in the end, insomuch that peradventure they will wish they had not

" dealt so with us. And besides their misdemeanours herein, they are also ready to " sell unto our mariners all kind of such commodities as they provide and lade home " for us; yea, some of them are ready to furnish our mariners with moneys there to " buy and bring home commodities to our damage, which otherwise they would not " have done for lack of means. Let all our factors and other our servants therefore " know that whatsoever they lend to any of our mariners there shall not be " defaulted out of the said mariners' wages here, neither shall any account thereof " be kept in our pursers' books" (*ibid.*, p. 120).

[3] See p. 111.

Page 182.

[1] Antheunis's action was probably due to the fact that the Seventh was a special voyage, in which he and Floris were in a manner partners with the Company (see p. 318).

[2] This is in Roe's own hand.

[3] Best's agreement with the local officials, afterwards confirmed by Jahángír.

[4] Marginal note: "A cloth stolen by the Governor's consent at a window."

Page 184.

[1] The agreement with Best, which Roe had asked the present Governor to confirm (see Roe's Diary, under date of October 7, 1615).

[2] Another copy is among the O.C. Duplicates, marked: "read in court, 27 June, " 1616." All variations of importance have been noted.

Page 185.

[1] Ceylon. Cp. p. 216.

[2] Pedir, on the northern coast of Sumatra, in about N. lat. 5° 29′ and E. long. 96°.

[3] See note to p. 97. The duplicate reads: "and after did let the bishop have " 102 catties."

[4] "Great" in duplicate.

Page 186.

[1] *Mucha ruina.*—See note 2 to p. 115.

[2] See p. 114.

Page 187.

[1] The duplicate reads: "did offer to procure it to us two."

[2] "For the clearing of the ship and such like" (duplicate).

[3] The duplicate does not go into these particulars, but says that the coarse white baftas were sold "much after the profit the fine ones was sold for (except the " forty)."

[4] *Nile.*—See note 3 to p. 97.

[5] "Two nile baftas" (duplicate).

[6] The duplicate adds: "and fearing that those merchants of Achine would send " them thither before us."

Page 188.

[1] "And others" (duplicate).

[2] "Sword-blades" (duplicate).

[3] Both these ships had been sent out by the First Joint Stock.

[4] The meaning is more clearly put in the duplicate, where the passage runs: " further he told them that he thought there was not goods enough in the country " to load both our ships, and, considering our great charges in procuring a licence

" that they would say they were put in by distress of weather and for refreshing; so " they might save a great deal of charges they would be at in procuring a licence, and " then to no effect if goods wanted; and that they would come ashore and then all " together we might take counsel what was best to be done."

Page 189.

[1] See p. 122.

Page 190.

[1] *Mr. Clethevall.*—This is Mr. Christopher Clitheroe, a prominent member of the Company, Deputy-Governor from 1624 to 1635, and Governor from July 1639 till his death on November 11, 1641.

[2] Cp. p. 126.

Page 191.

[1] See note to p. 99.

[2] "Although we brought a pilot from Achine along with us" (duplicate).

[3] "Presented him" (duplicate).

Page 192.

[1] See De Jonge's *Opkomst*, vol. iv., p. 36, and *Hague Transcripts* (I. O. Records), First Series, vol. ii., No. 78. The General's ship was the *Vlissingen*, which had lost 163 men, including the captain, Wouterssen. The other two were the *Engel* and the *Walcheven.*

[2] The despatch of this letter is mentioned in Cocks's *Diary* (vol. i., p. 70).

[3] *Gonrock Dono.*—The Governor of Nangasaki.

Page 193.

[1] See pp. 250, 256, and 264.

[2] *Bamboo paintings.*—From p. 206 and references in the *Diary* (vol i., pp. 68, 69) it appears that these were "five bambows [of] black paynting." The editor of that work does not explain the phrase, but with the kind assistance of Dr. W. G. Aston, C.M.G., late of the British Legation, Tokio, a satisfactory interpretation has been reached. The "bambows" must be sections of bamboo cut off below a joint, and secured at the top by some kind of stopper. Sir George Birdwood tells me that he has frequently seen paint carried in such receptacles in India; and Crawfurd says that the chupak (the lowest Malay measure of capacity) is possibly taken from the contents of a joint of bamboo. "Painting" appears to be "paint," in which sense the word is used by Saris. Dr. Aston thinks that probably lacquer is meant; "the " Japanese" (he writes) "do not (or did not) use oil paints, and the powders for water- " colours could be more conveniently packed otherwise. But bamboo-joints are not " at all an unlikely means of carrying lacquer varnish. . . . . Glass bottles were " unknown in Japan at this time, and earthenware vessels would be infinitely more " costly than bamboos. . . . . Mr. J. J. Quin, describing the mode of making " lacquer, in a paper read before the Asiatic Society of Japan in 1880 (*Transactions*, " vol. ix., pt. i., p. 21) says that when the sap is drawn 'what has been obtained is " 'kept in a bamboo tube.'"

[3] *Tay.*—Tael (value five shillings).

[4] *Cochi.*—Kochi, a town and roadstead on the S.E. coast of Shikoku, not far from Hirado (Firando). It was the usual point of arrival or departure for sea-going vessels.

[5] *Through-stitch.*—To go through with, accomplish in a thorough manner.

Page 194.

[1] Portage or carriage.

[2] See vol. i., p. 316.

Page 195.

[1] Humphrey Boughton, "one of His Majesty's pensioners," had been allowed by the Company (through with great reluctance) to take passage in Keeling's fleet for the purpose of travelling in India and (as he said) as far as China. His travels, however, were of short duration, for he died at Burhánpur, November 25, 1615.

[2] This was Peter Mutton, a goldsmith by profession, who had accompanied Boughton to India in the capacity of a servant. His unruly behaviour at Surat led to a proposal (p. 208) that he should be forcibly sent on board ship. Presumably, however, his offence was overlooked, and he remained with his master until the latter's death at Burhánpur. He seems then to have started overland for Masulipatam, and writing thither on July 23, 1616, Roe inquired for him and suggested that he should come to Ajmere, where his technical knowledge would no doubt have been of service; "I will prefer him to the King," he said, "and pay his charge; he shall "here make his fortune, and do me much pleasure" (*O.C.*, No. 382). But Mutton had not reached Masulipatam. Replying on March 21, 1617, Antheunis informed the ambassador that they had had "news of his being in Viziapour (Bíjápur), where "a Dutchman great with the King procured him entertainment at two pagodas per "day, but by his riotous life, being given to drunkenness, is there deceased" (*O.C.*, No. 461).

[3] These were doubtless part of the presents Roe was to carry to court.

[4] "Had" is doubtless intended.

Page 196.

[1] Roe obtained an advance of 200*l.* from Keeling before leaving Surat.

[2] The Governor had detained the presents, etc., which Roe desired to take up to court, whereupon Roe sent him the letter here printed, "wherein I plainly defied him "as an enemy, I repeated his abuses, and let him know my purpose to leave all "behind me and seek justice of the King" (Roe's Diary, under date of October 16, 1615).

There is a copy of this letter in Brit. Mus. *Addl. MS.* 6115 (f. 58), but it is dated October 15. As this is borne out by the Diary, it is clear that the date given in the text is wrong.

[3] See p. 284.

Page 197.

[1] "I wrote a letter to the Viceroy, signifying our desire of peaceable trade without "their prejudice, his Majesty's resolution to maintain his subjects in their honest "course of traffic, and offer of comprisure in the treaty now negotiated with the "Mogul and to endeavour to procure an open free trade on all sides; which I sent "in Portugal and English, limiting a time for answer" (Roe's Diary, October 19, 1615). No notice was taken by the Viceroy of this communication.

Here is another copy in Brit. Mus. *Addl. MS.* 6115 (f. 58). Both this and the preceding document are in the handwriting of Roe's secretary. The former is signed by the ambassador.

[2] Madrid.

Page 198.

[1] Tax or duty (cp. Fr. *gabelle*).

Page 199.

[1] This document contains copies of four letters written by the merchants who had gone up to Jambi as described on pp. 160–9. The second, third, and fourth are addressed by name to Richard Hounsell, the master of the *Attendant*, which had remained at the mouth of the river. In the *Calendar of State Papers (East Indies)*, it is suggested that the first was likewise addressed to him; but this is clearly inadmissible. To say nothing of the style of address or of the fact that the details given in the first part of the letter were as well known to Hounsell as to the factors, it is impossible to suppose that the latter would write two separate letters on the same day to the same person to tell the same story. Moreover, the master is himself mentioned in the former of the two. It is true that the editor of the Calendar supposes the first letter to have been written by the merchants collectively, and the second by Richard Westby alone; but the plural is used in both cases, and, again, Westby would in that case have known the contents of the collective letter, and would not have repeated part of its details in his own note. It seems almost certain that the first letter was addressed to Jourdain, and was intended to be carried to Bantam if for any cause the ship should be forced to sail before a further opportunity of communicating with her should present itself. It ends very abruptly and is probably incomplete.

[2] This should be "20th" (see p. 161).

Page 200.

[1] See p. 166.

Page 201.

[1] Richard Hounsell had previously been master's mate with Captain Saris in the Eighth Voyage. Westby praises him highly in a letter to Jourdain (*O.C.*, No. 337).

[2] See note to p. 164.

Page 202.

[1] See p. 168.

Page 203.

[1] A quarter rial.

Page 204.

[1] *Malonncabas.*—The people of Manangkabo, a mountainous district in the interior of Sumatra, extending from the equator to a degree south of it.

Page 205.

[1] See note 5 to p. 94. Captain Coppindall had been to the Emperor's court to deliver the usual present (see p. 290).

[2] See p. 192.

Page 206.

[1] See note 2 to p. 193.

[2] "No. 116" on p. 193 and in the *Diary;* though an entry just above the present one seems to show that Eaton had seen that particular pack.

Page 207.

[1] See vol. ii., p. 12; also p. 195 of the present volume. Migmoy was the English "host" at Yedo and Andrea was brother-in-law to Captain Adams there (*Diary*,

vol. i., p. 39). Stibbio, otherwise Quedoquea Stibio Dono, was apparently the "host" at Shrongo (Shidzuoka).

[2] The Governor of Surat had received a *farmân* from the Mogul on the 25th; "the contents I could not learn, but by the effect it was in our behalf and some check to the Governor" (Roe's Diary).

Page 208.

[1] See note 2 to p. 195.

[2] Mhowa, near Gopnath Point, on the Káthiáwár coast, opposite to Swally. Best had spent a few days there with his fleet in December, 1612, and Roe proposed to procure its cession from the Mogul as a fortified entrepôt for English trade—an idea he soon found to be impracticable.

[3] See p. 206.

Page 209.

[1] See note to p. 165.

[2] Memorandum.

[3] Cocks.

[4] See note 1 to p. 207.

[5] Safian Dono, the Governor of Nangasaki.

[6] There is also a Japanese address, which Dr. Aston has been kind enough to interpret. It runs: "to be delivered at Anjin-chō, Yedo;" and in an old map of that city he found this street (which still exists) marked as a cross-street (yoko-chō) of another called Odawara-chō. This reconciles the two addresses. Adams had a house in Anjin-chō, and most probably Wickham and other English factors would stay there during their visits to Yedo.

Page 210.

[1] Richard Rowe, master of the *Thomas*.

[2] *Cortatinga*.—Kota Tenga, on the west coast of Sumatra, a little south of Baros.

[3] Cp. pp. 212 and 228; also Milward's account in *Purchas* (vol. i., p. 526).

[4] See p. 228.

Page 211.

[1] See note to p. 105.

[2] The *Advice* and the *Attendant*.

[3] See p. 192.

[4] Cp. vol. ii., p. 190.

Page 212.

[1] Spaight.

[2] These two documents are in the handwriting of Adam Denton.

[3] Sabon is an island in the Straits of Malacca, lying to the south of the Great Carimon. The Straits of Sabon are marked in ancient maps between these two islands on the eastern side and Pulo Panjang on the west.

[4] Cp. p. 228.

[5] The old King, now a refugee.

Page 213.

[1] Treachery is not hinted at in Best's account of his stay at Achin (*Purchas*, vol. i., pp. 462–4); but evidently he was not altogether pleased with the way in which the King had treated him, and Cross, the purser of the *Dragon*, says that the monarch failed to keep his promises, and "divers times showed us his glory, but never his "loyalty or fidelity" (*Voyages of Sir James Lancaster*, p. 258).

[2] Muar, a native state E. and S.E. of Malacca.

[3] *Bantins*.—The Malay *bantieng*, "soort van boot met twee masten" (Van Eysinga's Malay-Dutch Dictionary, 1825).

Page 214.

[1] *Poulou Caramon.*—The Carimon islands, situated towards the eastern extremity of the Straits of Malacca.

Page 215.

[1] *Pagodes.*—The gold pagoda of Southern India; "il y en a de deux ou trois " sortes, et valent toujours plus de 8 *tangas,* et sont forgez a Narsinga, Bisnagar et " ez environs par les payens et Indiens, ayans a l'un costé un Idole en forme d'un " Diable, seant en une chaire, et a cette cause se nomme *Pagodes*" (*Navigation de l'Inde Orientale,* 1609, p. 53, where a drawing of the coin is also given).

[2] *Musters.*—Patterns or samples (Port. or Ital. *mostra*).

Page 217.

[1] See pp. 120–3.

Page 220.

[1] See p. 184.

Page 222.

[1] *Corcone.*—The sense is obvious. Modern dictionaries do not appear to give the word, but Howison's Malay Dictionary of 1801 has "*koorkon,* an accountant's clerk."

Page 225.

[1] Ordnance was always welcome. When Dampier was at Achin in 1688 the Queen's palace was said to possess four brass guns "sent hither as a present by our James the First."

Page 226.

[1] See p. 124.

Page 228.

[1] "On the thirtieth came in two Dutch ships from Masulipatam, the Admiral the *White Lion,* wherein was the Visador [Visitador-General, the Dutch inspector of factories: see vol. ii., p. 165] and the *Ragusa.* The Visador sent the King a great piece with other things for a present, which were rejected as of too little value. They demanded Signor Isaac, captain of the Dutch house at Achen, as indebted to the Company, whom the King had appointed for Malacca, and held as his slave, and said that if the Dutch took him they should have no trade in his country. He demanded one of their ships with him to Malacca, alleging an ancient promise of such a kindness by a former ambassador some twenty years ago; but they excused, and he said they were an unjust nation, and denied them his chop, that they might not go on shore for seven or eight days so much as to fill water. And three or four days after they turned their admiral ashore and gave her to the King, willing to give him content and withal to avoid that desperate voyage" (Millward's narrative in *Purchas,* vol. i., p. 526). Cp. also p. 210 of the present volume.

[2] "Sates" in original.

[3] See p. 212, and also note 1, above. "Riser" is evidently a misunderstanding of the name (Signor Isaac) there given.

Page 230.

[1] This document as it stood in the series was obviously incomplete, commencing abruptly with the concluding portion only of an abstract of Jourdain's letter of December, 1615 (see p. 272). A search was accordingly made, and the missing

sheet discovered. This contains the first part of the abstract alluded to. The entry in the *Calendar of State Papers* (*E. Indies*), 1513–1616, must be read in the light of this addition.

The abstracts have only been printed in those cases in which the originals are no longer extant.

Page 231.

[1] See p. 286.

Page 233.

[1] *Collimatt.*—Quilon ?

Page 234.

[1] See Nicholls' letter in vol. ii. (p. 287).

[2] This appears to be a compound of the Javanese *malela* (steel) with the Malay *basi* (iron).

[3] *Champred.*—Channelled or fluted; here, apparently, it means "eaten by insects."

Page 235.

[1] Nicholls seems to have been particularly fond of proverbial expressions.

[2] "Pass" in MS.

Page 236.

[1] *Courcowne.*—See note to p. 222.

Page 238.

[1] The *Hosiander.*

Page 239.

[1] Edmund (or Edward) Saris, who was to be the supercargo (see p. 254).

[2] Cp. p. 241.

[3] Cp. pp. 243, 290. Satsuma, a mountainous district in the S.W. of the island of Kiushiu.

[4] *Gantee.*—This may be *Gantu-Bharangi*, the roots of which are largely used for medicinal purposes (Balfour's *Cyclopædia*).

Page 240.

[1] *Trangana.*—Tringano, or Tringganu, a state on the eastern side of the Malay Peninsula, between Kalantan and Pahang.

[2] *Dongoune.*—Probably Dang-kong (Annam).

[3] *Tattamy.*—Japanese *tatami*, a measure equivalent to about 6¼ feet.

[4] Cockaine's protectionist movement of 1614–15; see Dr. Gardiner's *History*, vol. ii., p. 386.

Page 241.

[1] Printed in part in *The Diary of Richard Cocks*, vol. ii., p. 271.

[2] Macao.

Page 242.

[1] See p. 292.

Page 243.

[1] 1500 is evidently meant.

Page 244.

[1] *Lignum Aqula.*—Eagle-wood, much used for incense.

Page 245.

[1] See pp. 246, 249 and 254.

[2] Printed in part in *The Diary of Richard Cocks*, vol. ii., p. 273. The name of his correspondent has been obtained from the same source.

[3] Not extant. Their despatch is duly noted in the *Diary*.

[4] A Dutch merchant residing at Nangasaki, with whom Cocks had commercial dealings. See also vol. ii., p. 113.

[5] *Picul.*

Page 247.

[1] See p. 154.

Page 248.

[1] See vol. ii., p. 114.

[2] The hoped-for permission to establish a factory in China (cp. p. 255).

[3] Nos. 320 and 322.

Page 249.

[1] The receipt of Denton's letter is noted in the *Diary* (vol. i., p. 48), as also the despatch of this reply (*ibid.*, p. 87).

[2] The difference of the date given here and on p. 254 from that given on p. 241 for the arrival of the *Hosiander*, is explained by the fact that she reached Kochi on the 31st August (when Coppindall landed and delivered his letters), but did not actually get up to Firando till the 4th of the following month.

[3] *Pattaia.*—A pinnace or small vessel (Sp. *patáje* or *patáche*, Port. *pataxo*).

[4] *Goshon.*—Sir Ernest Satow explains this as a corruption of *go shiu in*, and says that the name was derived from the vermilion stamp of the Shōgun appended to the licence (see *Notes on the Intercourse between Japan and Siam in the Seventeenth Century*, in the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, vol. xiii., p. 139).

Page 250.

[1] *Ganti.*—See note 4 to p. 239.

Page 253.

[1] *King of Edo.*—Son of the Shōgun.

[2] *Per ticket.*—Heavy or bulky goods could not be actually delivered to the Shōgun; hence it was customary to present in those cases a ticket containing a description of the article it represented.

[3] *Morofack.*—Some kind of spirituous liquor.

[4] *Firmed.*—Signed (Ital. *firma*, signature).

Page 254.

[1] This is a copy only, made at Bantam. The date is not clear in the MS.; but that it should be the 6th is proved by the *Diary*, where the letter is mentioned under this date, and it is stated that the *Sea Adventure* sailed the same day. The person who endorsed the letter upon its receipt in London read the date as the 16th, and this has led to its being misplaced in the series, and entered under a wrong date in the *Calendar of State Papers* (*E. Indies*).

[2] Not extant. The date is given in the *Diary* as April 15, but the text appears here to be correct, as the *Hosiander* sailed from Bantam on April 10 (see p. 170).

[3] *Ogusto Samme.*—The Shōgun Iyeyasu.

[4] Enkhuizen.

Page 255.

[1] *Played rex.*—The sense is obvious. Nares in his *Glossary* quotes a line from Du Bartas: "Then plaies he rex; tears, kils, and all consumes."

[2] *Chyla.*—Chile.

[3] Hendrik Brouwer, who had been the Dutch chief at Firando.

Page 257.

[1] This is probably the date of the receipt at Bantam.

[2] Hugh Greet had been entertained in January, 1610, and had come out to the East in the *Darling*. As he had a special knowledge of gems, his chief employment had been in diamond-buying, principally at Sukadana. He was now going, as stated in his letter, to that settlement as chief. In January, 1618, the Bantam Council sent him home a prisoner, on a charge of dishonest dealing. He appears to have died towards the end of that year or at the beginning of the next; and he left his ill-gotten estate, after satisfying a few creditors, to be devoted by the Company to the foundation of almshouses for their decayed mariners. This was the germ of the well-known Poplar Hospital.

Page 259.

[1] Not extant.

Page 260.

[1] The outcome of the factors' deliberations upon the overtures from Pulo Ai is thus recorded in Elkington's journal (*Purchas*, vol. i., p. 516) :—"The third of "November I went ashore. Captain Jordan called together the merchants, and "sent for the Orancaya of Banda, having had his letter translated, the effect whereof "was that in regard of the ancient friendship between the English and them, and "especially with Captain Keeling, withal being provoked by the cruelty of the "Hollanders, their earnest desire was to trade only with the English for the spices "of Puloway, Pulerone and Nera, conditionally that the English would furnish them "with victuals, munitions and ordnance and help them to recover the castle of Nera, "and that some might be sent to Banda to confer hereof with the Orancayas. To "which was answered that, for help to recover Nera, we could not do it without "order from England; for ordnance, at present we were unprovided; what we "could we would, which was to furnish them with victuals and what other pro-"visions we could, till further order out of England, and to trade with them for "spices; purposing to send a ship, and some to confer with the Orancayas, how we "should be secured, and whether they would permit us a fort on shore" (*Purchas*, vol. i., p. 516).

Page 263.

[1] See p. 245.

[2] Should be 549.

Page 265.

[1] This appears to be a slip on Cocks's part.

[2] *Churl* (bundle), the unit by which indigo was bought and sold. The greater *churl* was a little over five *maunds* in weight; the smaller four *maunds*.

Page 266.

[1] See p. 210.

Page 267.

[1] In a letter from David to Jourdain, dated Banjarmassin, April 27, 1615 (*Fact. Rec., Misc.*, vol. xxv., f. 136), he says that the King took his goods away by force and twice purposed to kill him, "had I come forth, being invited to two several feasts, "they having provided murderers, as they did the Flemings."

Page 268.

[1] Banjarmassin, in the S.E. of Borneo, on the Martapura river, in about S. lat. 4° and E. long. 114° 35′. It is now the capital of Dutch Borneo.

[2] *Beasars.*—Bezoar stones, calcareous concretions found in the bodies of certain animals (especially goats), and believed to be of great medicinal value, especially as antidotes to poisons.

[3] An interesting attempt to connect "monsoon" with "month."

[4] Elkington.

Page 269.

[1] David in the letter already quoted speaks still more enthusiastically: "We "have heard in the Scripture of the land of Canan; but if there be so, Bengermassin "is it, or as like it as may be, for the humanity of the best sort of people (for the "worst are bad in all places), for riches and the great abundance of meat and drink, "with the cheapness thereof: so as it may well be called a land flowing with milk "and honey."

In a further letter to Jourdain (*ibid.*, p. 137), David makes a curious request: "The Protector of this place hath heard that there are a couple of turkeys or turkey "hens at the Dutch house at Bantam and is very desirous to have them, insomuch "as I am not able to be in quiet for him till they be gotten for him; and doth promise "large requital for the same. Therefore I pray you, sir, whatsoever they cost, fail "not to get them if it be possible for any money, but not mentioning that they are "for this place, for then the Dutchmen will not part with them. Also he doth "desire that you would be pleased to make suit to the King of Bantam for a couple "of Arabian sheep, a ram and a ewe. These things are put into his head by the "merchants of Surratt that are resident in this place, and he doth lie at me every "while to get them . . . . as also many other things he doth desire which I "am fain to excuse with protestations of impossibilities of gaining the same."

[2] One of the factors of Keeling's fleet. He had been engaged, December 14, 1614, on the strength of his reputation as "a very perfect account-keeper."

Page 270.

[1] *Cupid.*—This appears to be intended for the name of some native official.

Page 271.

[1] On December 20 the Governor stayed all further traffic until the General and others gave an understanding in writing "for clearing the country after expiration of "one year to come, saying it was the Great Mugoll's pleasure to be so ordered; yet "not anywise denying us free trade, but enjoined us not to make any residence of "abode longer than our ships were there . . which he obtained accordingly, "we being enforced thereto" (Peyton's MS. Journal: Brit. Mus. *Addl. MS.* 19276).

[2] *Pattimere.*—*Pattamar*, a foot-runner or courier.

[3] *Peon.*—A messenger (Post. *peão*, a footman).

Page 272.

[1] Jourdain omitted to date his letter. The old catalogue of the O.C. Series assigns it to the 25th December; the *Calendar of State Papers* takes the 26th; but neither can be correct, for the letter went home by the *Gift* (p. 230), and she sailed on the 21st December. Probably the 20th is about the right date.

[2] The first part of the letter is a copy of Jourdain's previous letter on p. 169, and consequently has been here omitted. The few additional particulars it contains have been added in the notes on that document.

[3] Keeling.

[4] In a letter brought out by the *Advice*, dated November 3, 1614, the Company had written: "Concerning the Malloccoes, whither John Jordine was employed in the "*Darling*, we perceive that notwithstanding the Hollanders' oppositions and abuses "you found entertainment among the people, who were willing to trade with you if "they had been suffered so to do, and that you had trade in two or three places, to "wit, Cambello, Lasede and Ceran, who were very glad of you and requested the con-"tinuance of trade with you; which places yield cloves in plentiful manner and "where the Hollanders have no factory nor forces to hinder you. Therefore if you "have not visited those places again and settled a factory there (having means), we "shall be heartily sorry and think you have not dealt well with us, considering that "we have given you so large advice for cloves in all our letters and commissions "from time to time by every shipping and so earnestly requested you to have a "factory stablished in the Molluccoes, if by any means possible. Let not our "directions so amply given you concerning the procuring of cloves be in vain, but let "us have a good ship employed unto those places and settle a sufficient factory, if you "be fitted thereunto; and withal to procure us cloves from other places by all the "means you can" (*Fact. Rec.*, *Misc.*, vol. xxv., p. 119).

Page 273.

[1] The letter from the Banda Orangkayas is printed at p. 492 of *The First Letter Book*. It is a pathetic document, setting forth the injuries they have suffered from the Dutch, and the hopes they entertain of assistance from the King of England, who "doth help all the world, and hath done no hurt to any of our religion . . . "and doth not by force attempt to overcome any man's kingdom, but only by peace "and friendship doth seek trade without violence. . . That if so be the King "of England out of his love towards us will have a care of our country and religion "and will help us with artillery, powder, and shot, and help us to recover the castle of "Nera, whereby we may be able to make wars with the Hollanders, by God's help all "the spices that all our islands shall yield we will only sell to the King of England;" if in small matters friction should arise they hope that "with mutual consent like "friends they would bear with each other's errors; only we all desire that you do "not seek to overthrow our religion, and that you do not commit offence with our "women, because these two only we are not able to endure."

[2] See Cokayne's letter (p. 153).

[3] "The tenth of October, Captain Jordan came in the junk from Jacatra, and "related his kind entertainment, the King being wholly devoted to us and hating "the Dutch" (Pring's Journal in *Purchas*, vol. i., p. 631).

[4] See pp. 151, 152.

Page 274.

[1] See p. 266.

[2] "The seven and twentieth of November the Flemings set upon Kewee his house "(he was our merchant to buy pepper for us) with intent to keep him prisoner in "their own house; but Captain Jourdain, having notice thereof, presently went and "rescued him in despite of the Flemings, and brought him to the English house" (Pring's Journal in *Purchas*, vol. i., p. 631).

Page 276.

[1] Cp. vol. ii., p. 276.

Page 277.

[1] Ceylon.

Page 278.

[1] See note to p. 39.

[2] This was the rate (10*s*. the rial) usually allowed by the Company.

Page 279.

[1] See p. 253.

Page 281.

[1] This document was recently found among the O. C. Duplicates, where it must have been placed in error when the series was first made up. It has now been put into its proper position, and numbered 215 I. Though a little out of date and of no great importance, it is here printed to make the series complete.

[2] See vol. ii., p. 228.

[3] Not extant.

[4] Not extant.

[5] Unbleached.

Page 282.

[1] Shroffs.

Page 283.

[1] This is the royal letter delivered to the Mogul by Edwards. It is here printed from a copy in Thomas Elkington's memorandum book (*Factory Records, Misc.*, vol. xxv., p. 59). There is a modern transcript (probably from this very copy) in vol. viii. of the same series (p. 41).

[2] Kashmír.

Page 284.

[1] This is the Great Mogul's reply (see p. 65). It has been printed by *Purchas* (vol. i., p. 580) and Terry (p. 415) and also in *The First Letter Book* (p. 478).

Page 285.

[1] The Mogul had always refused to answer the royal letters presented by the factors.

[2] "Countries" (*Purchas*).

[3] "Country" (*Purchas*).

[4] "Would" (*Purchas*).

[5] Prince Khurram, the Mogul's favourite son.

Page 286.

[1] From a copy in Elkington's memorandum-book (*Factory Records, Misc.*, vol. xxv., p. 107). There is also a modern transcript of part of this letter in vol. viii. (p. 41), of the same series.

[2] See p. 231.

[3] *To give a slip for sixpence.*—To delude by a false show or counterfeit. *Slips* were "counterfeit pieces of money, being brass and covered over with silver" (Greene's *Thieves falling out*, quoted in Nares' *Glossary*).

[4] *Gulagula.*—This is marked in the map appended to the *Histoire de la Conquête des Isles Moluques* (Amsterdam, 1706) as a harbour on the south-eastern coast of Ceram. David Middleton, in 1610, on leaving Banda "bare up the helm for Ceran, and came "to a place called Gelagula, being thirty leagues from Banda, a reasonable good "road" (*Purchas*, vol. i., p. 242). Cp. also note 4 to p. 132.

Page 287.

[1] See p. 134.

Page 288.

[1] See pp. 134, 146, 170, 273.

[2] Cp. p. 114.

[3] From Pulo Ai.

[4] See p. 293.

Page 289.

[1] From a copy in Wickham's Letter-Book (I. O. Records: *China and Japan*, vol. xv., f. 23).

[2] *Quinam.*—Quinhon.

Page 290.

[1] Saris.

[2] Nafa (see vol. ii., p. 234).

[3] Cp. note 3 to p. 239.

[4] Now Shidzuoka.

Page 292.

[1] Fidaia Sama, better known as Hideyori, son of Iyeyasu's predecessor.

Page 293.

[1] *The Vise.*—Devizes.

[2] From the *Java* Series, vol. iii., pt. 1. This letter narrates the ill-treatment of the English by the Dutch in the Banda islands, already referred to on p. 288. Jourdain, in his diary (*Sloane MS.* 858), gives the master's name as John Alexander.

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[1] See note 1 to p. 273.

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